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# KANZAS AND NEBRASKA:

THE

HISTORY, GEOGRAPHICAL AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS,  
AND POLITICAL POSITION OF THOSE TERRITORIES;

AN ACCOUNT OF THE

EMIGRANT AID COMPANIES,

AND

DIRECTIONS TO EMIGRANTS.

BY

EDWARD E. HALE.

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WITH AN

ORIGINAL MAP FROM THE LATEST AUTHORITIES.

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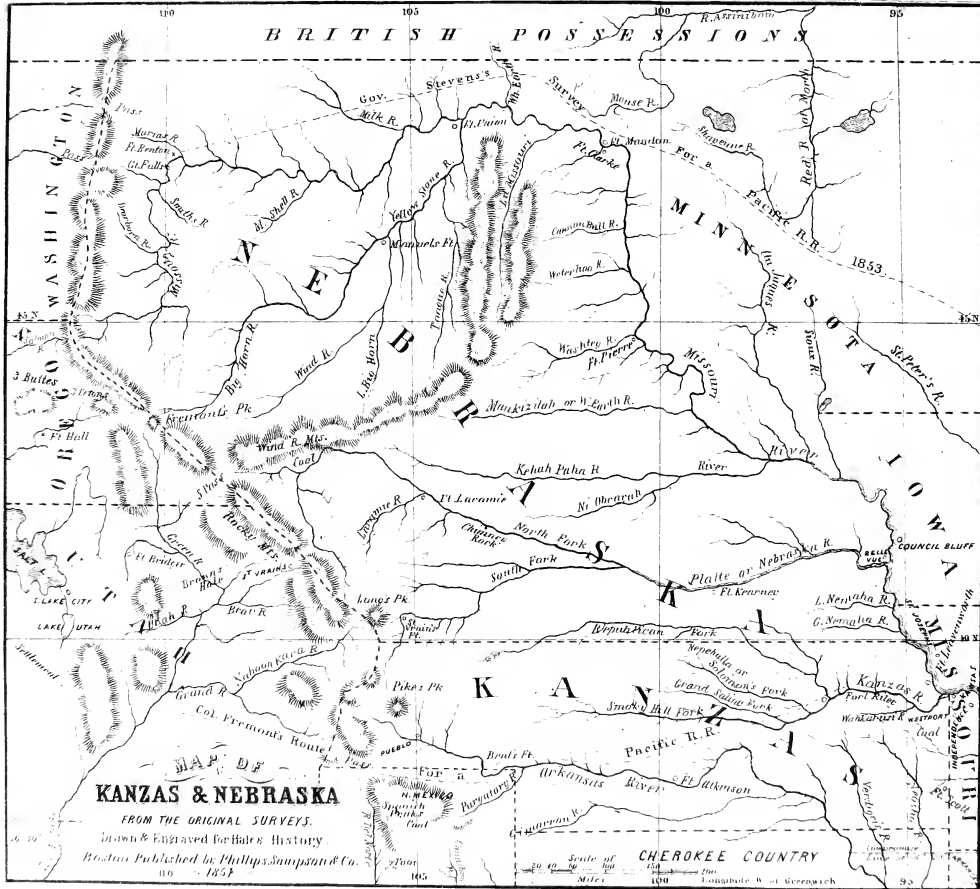
BOSTON:

PHILLIPS, SAMPSON AND COMPANY,

NEW YORK: J. C. DERBY.

1854.

# BRITISH POSSESSIONS



## MAP OF KANSAS & NEBRASKA

FROM THE ORIGINAL SURVEYS.  
 Drawn & Engraved for Hales & History.

Boston Published by Phillips, Sampson & Co.  
 1853

Scale of  
 Miles  
 0 20 40 60 80 100

CHEROKEE COUNTRY

Latitude N. of Greenwich

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## P R E F A C E .

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THE history of two territories whose first governors have as yet never seen their dominions,—in which, indeed, there is not yet a single town,—may seem to be easily written.

When, however, my attention was directed to the study of the various researches which have been made in the regions now known as Kansas and Nebraska, I knew that I had a wide range before me.

I have followed up, as carefully as I could, the memoirs of the early French travellers who first opened to the civilized world the valley of the Missouri. Of more use, in the view in which that valley is now regarded, are the more recent travels of our own countrymen, a body of official reports which deserve very high praise for the skill and gallantry displayed in exploration, and the care with which their history has been written. I have made such use as I could of the travels of Lewis and Clarke, Capt. Pike, Col. Long, Mr. Breckenridge, Maj. Bonneville, Col. Fremont, Col. Emory, Lieut. Abert, Mr. Parkman, Maj. Cross, Capt.

Stansbury, Capt. Gunnison, Gov. Stevens, Lieut. Williamson, and others.

I have used some recent letters published in newspapers, and have been favored with personal narratives of agents of the Emigrant Aid Company.

The interest which is now sending into these territories a large and well-trained population has been roused by the interest felt in their political condition. I have, therefore, given such a sketch of their political history as the size of the volume admitted. I have drawn my materials for a history of the great Missouri debate from the copious contemporary files in the library of the Antiquarian Society. The memoranda of other political passages in the history of a region, of which the civilized government has not yet begun, are from official documents. So few people have read "the Nebraska Act," of which so many have talked, that I have thought it desirable to publish an accurate copy of it, as the constitution of the new states.

Since the formation of the Emigrant Aid Companies, I have been deeply interested in their success. The trustees of the Boston company offered me, very kindly, any assistance in their power; but they are in no sense responsible for my opinions, as expressed here. I should never have undertaken this work, however, but from a wish to assist in the great enterprise of settling Kansas at once,—an enterprise which appears to me to open a nobler field for effort than any public undertaking which has called upon our energies for many years. To contribute as I could to the immediate settlement of Kansas, I have given such hints to emigrants, and special information for their wants, as my materials afforded me.

The map is accurate as far as may be with our present knowledge of the country. It is compiled from more than twenty of the recent surveys made by government.

In my sketch of the Indian tribes I have followed the invaluable treatise of Mr. Gallatin, the spirited sketches of Mr. Catlin, and Mr. Parkman's interesting journal of his sojourn with the Ogillalah, besides the notices in the travellers I have named.

It will not be long, I suppose, before historical societies and antiquarian institutes in Kansas and Nebraska will be collecting materials far more abundant for their history and geography. I shall watch such collections with great interest, as well as with the pride of being the first collector in the field. Working with the disadvantages of a first collector, I have simply tried to make this book accurate as far as it goes.

In that view I have held to the spelling *Kanzas*, of most of the travellers and of the Indian department, in preference to *Kansas*, the more fashionable spelling of a few weeks past. There is no doubt that the *z* best expresses the sound, that it has been almost universally used till lately, and that it is still used by those most familiar with the tribe and the river which have, time immemorial, borne this name. *Kanzas*, too, will soon be a state. Its name then will, at best, too much resemble the name of *Arkansas*, which was, in fact, derived from it. To keep them by one letter more apart is to gain something.

WORCESTER, MASS., *Aug.* 21, 1854.



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# KANZAS AND NEBRASKA.

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## CHAPTER I.

Discovery of these regions — Marquette — La Salle — La Hontan — Crozat — The Mississippi scheme — Dutisne the discoverer of Kansas.

THE discovery to the civilized world of the valley of the Missouri was made by Father Marquette. In writing to the Superior of Missions, in 1670, he spoke of this river, from the report he had of it from the Indians. "Six or seven days below the Ilois" (Illinois river), he says, "is another great river, on which are prodigious nations, who use wooden canoes; we cannot write more till next year, if God does us the grace to lead us there." Among these "prodigious nations" was the *Kansas*.

His expedition down the Mississippi did not take place so soon as he had hoped. But, in 1673, accompanied by Joliet, he crossed to the Fox river portage, and, on the 10th of June, embarked on the waters of the Mississippi. In the

course of the voyage which followed, they passed the mouth of the Missouri. In the Algonquin language, this river was called the Pekitanoui, or Muddy river, and it retained that name for some time in the French books and maps.\*

“We descend,” says Father Dablon, in his narrative of this expedition, “following the course of the river toward another called Pekitanoui, which empties into the Mississippi, coming from the north-west, of which I have something considerable to say, after what I have remarked of this river.” This “something considerable” is an intimation which our own time has proved correct, that by this river’s valley would be found an overland route to California. “We judged,” he says, “by the direction the Mississippi takes, that, if it keeps on the same course, it has its mouth in the gulf of Mexico. It would be very advantageous to find that which leads to the South Sea toward California, and this, as I said, I hope to find by Pekitanoui, following the account which the Indians have given me; for from them I learn that, advancing up this river for five or six days, you come to a beautiful prairie, twenty or thirty leagues long, which you must cross to the north-west. It terminates at another little river, on which you can embark, it not being difficult to transport canoes over so beautiful a country as that prairie. The second river runs south-west for ten or fifteen leagues, after which it enters a small lake,

\* A branch of Rock river is still called Pekatonica.



which is the source of a deep river, running to the west, where it empties into the sea. I have hardly any doubt that this is the Red Sea (Gulf of California), and I do not despair of one day making the discovery, if God does me this favor and grants me health, in order to be able to publish the Gospel to all the nations of this new world, who have so long been plunged in heathen darkness."

This narrative was published in 1678. It has lately been translated and edited by Mr. Shea, who publishes with it a fac simile of Marquette's manuscript map, still preserved at St. Mary's College, Montreal. The Pekitanoui or Missouri is here laid down, at its entrance into the Mississippi, and for one hundred miles back. On the map, to the westward, are the names of several tribes. Of these the Pana and Paniassa are probably our Pawnees; the Ouemessourit are the Missouri; the Ouchage, the Osages; the Tontanta, our Tetons; the Moingouena are Moingonans, and the Pewarca, the Peorias; while the names of the Kansa and Maha tribes are put down as upon our maps.

The expectation of discovering the gulf of California by following up the Missouri, and so crossing to the waters of the Pacific, is alluded to a second time in the same narrative.

The celebrated La Salle repeated Marquette's expedition, in 1681 and 1682. He was detained by ice and winter, at the mouth of the Illinois, till Jan. 13, 1682. "Then," writes Father Membre, in his narrative, "we set out, and,

six leagues lower down, found the Ozage (Missouri) river coming from the west. It is full as large as the river Colbert (Mississippi), into which it empties, troubling it so that from the mouth of the Ozage the water is hardly drinkable. The Indians assure us that this river is formed by many others, and that they ascend it for ten or twelve days, to a mountain, where it rises ; that beyond this mountain is the sea, where they see great ships ; that on the river are a great number of large villages, of many different nations ; that there are arable and prairie lands, and abundance of cattle and beaver. Although this river is very large, the Colbert does not seem augmented by it ; but it pours in so much mud, that, from its mouth, the water of the great river, whose bed is also slimy, is more like clear mud than river water. Without changing at all, it reaches the sea, a distance of more than three hundred leagues, although it receives some large rivers, the water of which is very beautiful, and which are almost as large as the Mississippi." \*

In 1687, La Salle attempted to cross, with a party of sixteen men, from his settlement called St. Louis, on the gulf of Mexico, to the Mississippi, and ascend its stream. In a mutiny among his men, he was killed, but six of the party continued on the expedition, crossing the Red river and descending the Arkansas to the Mississippi. They then went

\* Father Membre in Shea's History of the Mississippi, p. 166.

up to the Canadian frontier in canoes. Father Douay, of this party, thus speaks of the Missouri : —

“ On the north-west, the famous river of the Massourites or Osages, at least as large as the river into which it empties ; it is formed by a number of known rivers, everywhere navigable, and inhabited by many populous tribes, as the Panimaha, who had but one chief and twenty-two villages, the least of which has two hundred cabins ; the Paneassa, the Pana, the Paneloga, and the Matotantes, each of which, separately, is not inferior to the Panimaha. They include also the Osages, who have seventeen villages on a river of their name, which empties into that of the Massourites, to which the maps have also extended the name of Osages.” \* In these Indian names it is easy to recognize the tribes known by us as different divisions of Pawnees and Mahas. Father Douay says, also, that the Arkansas Indians formerly inhabited one of the upper valleys of the Missouri, but were driven down to the valley of the Arkansas river by cruel wars with the Iroquois.

In 1680, La Salle established fort Crêve Coeur, on Illinois river, of easy access from the mouth of the Missouri, and from this time probably its valley was visited by French traders.

In the somewhat notorious letter of La Hontan, dated Mackinaw, May 28, 1689, he describes an expedition of his

\* Father Douay in Shea, as above, p. 222.

own, which, if it were possible, would have made him the discoverer of NEBRASKA. He professes to have gone down to the Mississippi by the Wisconsin river, and then sailed westward for several days, by the "*Long river*," till he came to the neighborhood of waters flowing into the Pacific. Had he done this, he would have been the first white man in Nebraska.

But the *Long river* does not exist, and his narrative refutes itself by describing his voyage in detail, as made in January, in the parallel of 46° north latitude. In fact, all rivers of that region are closed with ice for several of the winter months. And the detail of the narrative, therefore, is enough to discredit the story as completely a romance.

His map of the Missouri indicates, however, that he had received from the savages correct general information as to its course, to a point more than a hundred miles west of its mouth, and above the mouth of the Osage river, where, he says, he burned an Indian village.

Not long after, the French establishment at St. Louis was founded. At home the valley of the Mississippi became one of the regions of romantic speculation. In 1712, Louis XV. granted the whole valley of the Mississippi to Crozat. In that grant he changed the name of the Missouri to the river St. Philip, which name, however, it never retained. In 1717, Crozat abandoned this grant, and Law's famous Mississippi scheme was started. A great impulse at once was given to emigration and exploration.

The immense funds raised in France were, in part, devoted to the purposes of the Louisiana colony. Many settlers were sent over, and efforts made to establish additional communication with the interior. To this gigantic scheme of finance and fraud we owe the discovery of the territory of KANZAS.

M. Dutisne, a French officer, was sent from New Orleans, in 1719, by Bienville, the governor, into the territory west of the Mississippi. He visited the village of the Osage Indians, five miles from the Osage river, at eighty leagues above its mouth. Thence he crossed to the north-west one hundred and twenty miles, over prairies abounding in buffalo, to the villages of the Panionkees or Pawnees. Here were two villages, of about one hundred and thirty cabins, and two hundred and fifty warriors each, who owned nearly three hundred horses. They were not civilized, he says, but readily accessible on receiving a few presents. Fifteen days more westward marching brought him to the *Padoucahs*, a very brave and warlike nation. Here he erected a cross, with the arms of the king, Sept. 27th, 1719. In his report of his expedition he gives the details which we have quoted, and notices the salines and masses of rock salt found to this day in the region he travelled over.

He found the Osage villages at the spot which they still occupy. If his measurements were exact, his first Pawnee or Panionkee village was near the mouth of Republican Fork. Fifteen days westward travel must have been up the

valleys of one of the forks of Kansas river ; but the name of the Padoucah Indians is now lost.

From the time he reached the Osage villages, Dutisne was exploring the territory of *Kansas*. A report of an invasion of its Indians by Spaniards, in the same year, probably belongs really to the year 1722 ; and Dutisne, therefore, may be regarded as the discoverer of Kansas to the civilized world.

## CHAPTER II.

Native tribes — General divisions — The Dahcotah or Sioux race — Pawnees — Pahdoucahs — Arapahoes — Rapids — Blackfeet — Emigrant Indians from the East — Aboriginal Indians — Population and customs of Knistineaux or Crees, Ojibwas, Assineboins, Gros-Ventres, Blackfeet, Mandans, Sioux, Crows, Puncas, Omahas, Ottoes, Pawnees, Kansas, Osages — The past condition and present prospects of the race.

FROM the period when thus discovered by the first white explorers, up to the present time, the valleys of the Missouri and of its western tributaries, comprising the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, have been constantly visited by white traders, hunters or trappers. The French hunters from Louisiana and Canada were the first explorers; but, after the establishment of the British North West Company, its agents dealt with the Indians in these wildernesses. On the transfer of the Louisiana purchase to the United States, in 1803, the fur trade began to come into the hands of American merchants; and, from that time, there have been American traders among those who resorted to these territories. The great exploration by Capts. Lewis and Clarke, in 1805, 1806, 1807, gave a key to the geog-

raphy of the region ; but, up to the present moment, a few trading houses, military stations and missionary posts are the only habitations of white men west of the State of Missouri and of the Missouri river. There is not, at this moment, August 1, 1854, a town or village of whites in KANZAS or NEBRASKA.

The region is still in possession of the Indian tribes. And they, with some changes of position, retain on the whole much the same general divisions and homes as are described to us by their first discoverers. Their population has generally diminished.

The most of these tribes belong to the great Dahcotah or Sioux family of the Indian race. This is the same family which inhabited the region between the Missouri and Mississippi, now Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota. In NEBRASKA the Mandans, Minetaries and Crow Indians speak a variety of the Dahcotah dialect. Eight other tribes speak it with little variation. Among these are the Ogillalahs, with whom Mr. Parkman made his Indian visit, described with great spirit in "The California Trail." Two of these tribes, the Osages and Arkansas, belong only in part in Kansas. Their homes are farther south. The Arkansas were driven from the Kansas river not long before the discovery by the French. The Ottoes, with whom the Missouris have joined themselves, and the Omahaws, now live on the west side of the Missouri, near the mouth of the Platte or Nebraska



river. The Puncas, a hundred miles above, use the same dialect.

Of Indians using the Dahcotah language, there are, therefore,

In NEBRASKA, Mandans and Crows, or Upsarokas, neither of which tribes call themselves Dahcotahs; and Puncas and Omahas, who acknowledge their Dahcotah origin.

In KANZAS, Ottoes, Kansas, Osages, Arkansas and Ogilalahs. Farther west than the Ottoes and Omahas, on the Nebraska or Platte river, are the Pawnees, whose language is entirely unlike that of the Dahcotahs, and that of any other Indians known to us. They have occupied the neighborhood of this position at least since 1719.

Another division of Pawnees are the Ricaras, sometimes called the Black Pawnees.

South and west of the villages of these tribes, range small bodies, of various names, as Kaskaias and Kioways, who use a different language from any of the others, and may be regarded as remnants of the Pahdoucahs, described by the early explorers, but not now found under that name.

With these the Arapahoes have lately united themselves. They speak a distinct language, however, having emigrated from the hunting-seats of the Rapid Indians, who belong in the north-western parts of Nebraska, between the head waters of the Missouri and Saskachawin. These Rapid (or Fall, or Paunch) Indians are generally found on the Brit-

ish side of the line. Their hunting-grounds, however, come as far south as the Yellowstone.

The Blackfeet, who occupy the western part of Nebraska, are one of the most powerful Indian tribes remaining. Their hunting-grounds extend as far north as the 52d degree of latitude, and take in all the region of the Upper Missouri and its waters, from the mountains as far east as the 103d meridian of longitude. Their population is estimated at thirty thousand.

Besides these tribes, which have inhabited this region since its history begins, there are, in the territory of KANSAS, a few small tribes, which have been removed thither by treaties with the United States government. These are the Wyandots, Kickapoos, Sacs and Foxes, Peorias and Kaskaskias; Ottowas; Chippewas; Weas and Piankshaws, Pottawatomies, Shawnees and Delawares. These are, in number, very insignificant. But they hold, by treaty, the right to some of the best lands in Kansas, and the officers of the United States government have endeavored, therefore, and with some success, for the last year, to make treaties with them for the purchase of parts of their territory. Of these treaties we shall give some account in a subsequent chapter. It is intended, in all of these treaties, to give to each individual in each tribe his own quota of land, and not to attempt again their removal to a distant location.

The Shawnees occupy a belt of country immediately south of the Kansas river, running westward one hundred

miles from the Missouri line, and about fifteen miles in width ; a district one-fifth as large as Massachusetts. They are but nine hundred and thirty in number. Among them are some quite good farmers, a few of whom hold a few slaves.

Immediately south of their reservation are the small reservations of the Weas and Piankshaws, and of the Peorias and Kaskaskias. These are the only tribes who consented to sell, when invited by the Indian commissioner last year. They hold, together, only two hundred and fifty-six thousand acres, and are very few in number.

West of them are the Chippewas, thirty in number, and the Ottowas, two hundred and forty-seven in number. The Chippewas hold eight thousand three hundred and twenty acres, and the Ottowas three thousand four hundred acres only. This is mostly prairie land.

The Wyandots occupy one of the most eligible tracts in Kansas, which they purchased of the Delawares. It is the fork between the Kansas and Missouri rivers. They are five hundred and fifty-three in number, and own only twenty-three thousand nine hundred and sixty acres of land.

On the Osage river is a reservation belonging to Sacs and Foxes, removed from the Upper Mississippi.

On the Missouri, just south of the northern line of Kansas, is a reservation for the Iowas, another for the Sacs and Foxes, from Missouri, and next them, a colony of " Half-breeds."

It will be seen from this brief catalogue of the Indian tribes in KANZAS and NEBRASKA, that they are very widely scattered over those immense territories ; that they are of different customs and degrees of civilization, and that their origin is from so many different sources that they speak several distinct languages. Their numbers, compared with the immensity of the ground they hunt over, are very small.

Of them all, the Wyandots, Shawnees, Ottowas, and some others of the emigrant Indians, are, in part, civilized. The Wyandots and Ottowas, numbering eight hundred persons, have some simple laws. None of the others have. All of these tribes cultivate their reservations, and have such knowledge of agriculture as enables them to do so.

To name these in order, there is, first, between the Little and Great Nemaha rivers, a colony of sixty half-breeds, who have comfortable houses, large fields well fenced, and a considerable stock of cattle.

Next them, just south of the north line of Kansas, are a body of Iowas, removed from their old homes. They number four hundred and thirty-seven. They have profited but little from the payments annually made to them ; are seduced into a loitering, lazy life, by the emigrants passing to the Pacific ; improvident in their habits, and consequently decreasing in numbers. From eight hundred and thirty, they have diminished, in sixteen years, to four hundred and thirty-seven ; having been all that time receiving annuities from government, and most of it under the care of mission-

aries and government agents. They wear no dress but the blanket. Their crops are short, and the houses built for them by government have gone to decay.

Of the Iowas and Sacs nineteen girls and seventeen boys were last year at school. They live at the school, under the care of the teacher. There is not in the Iowa reservation one adult professing Christianity, and the reports of those in charge of them are truly disheartening.

The Kickapoos are next south of them on the Missouri river; their condition is better than their neighbors', and the agent seems to consider that it will improve with the stoppage of their annuities, which, by treaty, were to cease last year. Two hundred and eight Winnebagoes have lived on the same agency, but were to remove last spring. Two hundred and fifty Pottawatomies have also homes on the Kickapoo land; but were to remove in the spring to their own reservation south of the Shawnees.

The Delawares, Wyandots and Shawnees hold the lower valleys of the Kansas, and the rivers which flow into it. Among them are six missionary stations; and four circuit preachers attempt to preach the Gospel to them. Of these stations, the Friends' Shawnee Labor-school has won an honorable name from its patient and successful care of the children confided to it. It is more than fifty years since the Friends first labored for the civilization of the Shawnees. In this school there are forty-nine scholars, and a good farm is connected with it. About twenty-five scholars are

at the Delaware school, twenty at the Baptist Mission; and Mr. Johnson, the superintendent of the "Indian Mission" established in 1851, reports that he has as many as he can take care of. It is understood that they prove effective work-people on his valuable farm.

The Shawnees, Delawares, Pottawatomies and Wyandots, hold the best parts of Kansas. They are addicted to liquor, which they obtain from traders of their own nation. Half of them, it is said, are drunkards, and the estimate that a quarter part are Christians, made by Mr. Robinson, the agent, must be made with reference to some very low standard of Christianity.

South of the Shawnees, as has been said, are the Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi, the Ottowas, and the Chippewas (of Swan Creek and Black River). There are emigrant tribes also. The Sacs and Foxes numbered, in 1853, two thousand one hundred and seventy-three persons, who draw from the government, annually, seventy-one thousand dollars in money, forty kegs of tobacco, and forty barrels of salt. Twenty thousand dollars of this annuity, with the salt and tobacco, ceases after 1862; the rest is a perpetual payment. They are a roving people, supporting themselves chiefly by the chase; but they have had the sense to agree to "spill" all whiskey, or other liquor, brought into their country. This is the tribe in which Keokuk and Black Hawk were chiefs, in their war against the United States.

The Chippewas are but five families, holding thirteen sections of land, and drawing a perpetual annuity of three hundred dollars.

The Ottowas are a farming people, honest, industrious and prosperous. They receive a perpetual annuity of two thousand six hundred dollars. Their land is good, lying on the Osage river. These two little communities have a surplus of their crop for sale. The Ottowas are increasing in numbers. They are now two hundred and forty-seven, which is forty-two more than they were six years ago. The influence of Rev. Jotham Meeker, supported by the Baptist Union among them, seems to have been of enduring and real value.

These comprise all the tribes removed by the government into the territory of Kansas. The government cannot fairly be charged with intentional cruelty or neglect to them. The annuities awarded to them by treaty have been large, and have been paid; and attempts have been made to initiate them in the arts of civilized life.

But it appears to be the universal impression now, among those concerned in the management of these tribes, that the payment of a money annuity to them is anything but an advantage. It renders them improvident, indolent and dissolute. The most energetic officers fail to keep liquor from the tribes. The Indians themselves go for it to the white settlements in Missouri; and the strictest prohibition of the trade in it is of no avail.

In Michigan, and in some of the reservations which have now been named, it has proved that where each Indian family has had its own house and farm, and the same stimulus has thus been brought to bear as an inducement to labor which acts among the settlers themselves, they really fall into the habits of civilized life, and, in some instances, redeem themselves from those vices which have seemed almost inseparable from savage life on the borders. It is to be hoped, indeed, that, by such a policy, and the care of the new government now to be established in Kansas, these remnants of the Indian tribes may be saved from a further downward progress, and secured the blessings of improvement, like that which has been made by two of the smallest communities of their number.

With the exception of the little community of Half-Breeds, on the Nemaha rivers, all the tribes now described are in KANZAS, whither they have been removed from old homes. We proceed to speak of the tribes, of which the names are given above, which retain their aboriginal position within the borders of these two territories.

The map will show how extensive the regions are which they occupy. NEBRASKA is bounded on the north by the parallel of  $49^{\circ}$ , the northern boundary of the United States; on the south by the parallel of  $40^{\circ}$ , which separates it from Kansas. Its eastern boundary is the (northern) White Earth river and the Missouri, which divide it from Minnesota and Iowa; and its western, the ridge of the Rocky



Mountains. KANZAS extends three degrees, or two hundred and eight miles, further south. Its eastern boundary is the state of Missouri; its northern, the line of  $37^{\circ}$ , which divides it from the Cherokee reservation; its western, the Rocky Mountains.

We have given a general catalogue of the native Indian tribes which are now scattered over this vast domain. We proceed to speak of their different characteristics in more detail, beginning with the tribes in the northern part of Nebraska, and speaking in succession of those further south.

North of the valley of the Mississippi river are the head waters of some streams which flow into the British possessions. The tribes of Knistinaux or Crees, of Ojibwas and Assineboins, hunt on these waters, and frequently pass further south into the territory of Nebraska.

The Crees are the most northern branch of the great Algonkin Lenape family of Indians. Their language is a different dialect from that spoken by the New England Indians and the Delawares, with which, however, it agrees in its basis. Their hunting-grounds extend as far north as Lake Athapasca, and as far east as Hudson's Bay. Mr. Catlin speaks of those who reside on one side of the frontier of Nebraska as "a very pretty and pleasing tribe," about three thousand in number. They cultivate the soil with some success.

The Ojibwas are a section of the great Chippewa race.

Their principal trade is with the British trading-houses, and their hunting-grounds within the British territory.

The Assineboins give the name to the Assineboin river, which flows east into the Lake of the Woods, just north of the parallel of 49°. This name means "stone-boilers." For this tribe, from want of better utensils, had formerly the habit of boiling their meat in holes made in the ground, lined with hide. The meat and water were put in these holes. Large stones, heated red hot, were then dropped in successively, until the meat was cooked, and the tribe took the name of "Stone-boilers" accordingly. An acquaintance, however, with the Mandans, who made earthen pottery, and their trade with the whites, have done away with this custom, except at public festivals, where it is still preserved.

The Assineboin language is a dialect of the Dahcotah.

The Gros-Ventres, Paunch, Fall or Rapid Indians, range over the northern and western parts of Nebraska. They number four hundred and twenty lodges, each lodge averaging nine inhabitants. Their language is said to be the same as the Arrapahoes', who live in the neighborhood of the Arkansas. They are a wild, roving people, subsisting entirely by hunting. Mr. Catlin supposes that they intermarry with the Blackfeet, who are the enemies of every other race of Indians. This is not the impression of Mr. Vaughn, the Indian agent for the Upper Missouri.

The Blackfeet are the largest and most warlike nation of

all the native tribes. The traders, in former years, have fixed their number as high as fifty thousand, but this is undoubtedly an exaggeration. Mr. Vaughn thinks it is not more than eleven or twelve thousand. They live altogether by the chase, roving in every direction, as far as the head waters of the rivers of Hudson's Bay on the north, and as far as the Great Salt Lake to the south-west. They are rich in horses, bold in war, and the avowed enemies of all the other tribes, unless the Gros-Ventres be an exception. The whole eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, north of the Platte river, may be regarded as their country, though their roving life admits of no fixed home.

Neither they nor the Gros-Ventres have ever entered into any treaty with the United States government. Several years since, however, they made a friendly treaty with Messrs. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., & Co., to trade with them near the falls of the Missouri.

So adventurous are the warriors of this nation that it is said there is among them a great preponderance of women. But few of the men have less than two wives, the common number is four, and many have ten.

A few of the Gros-Ventres have separated themselves from the great body of the tribe, and pay some attention to agriculture in villages near the Missouri river. The Ri-caras or Arick-a-rees do the same, and the small remnant of the unfortunate Mandans, in their village on the Missouri, is the most civilized native tribe in the whole region.

The history, customs and position of this remarkable tribe, now so nearly extinct, are so singular as to deserve a fuller notice than their present population would seem to demand.

Their history is known, from civilized authorities, as far as a hundred years ago. They were then settled in nine villages, seven on the west, and two on the east side of the Missouri, eighty miles south of the Fort Mandan of Lewis and Clarke. Their life being in a fixed locality, they were constantly exposed to the attacks of other tribes; and, gradually wasting away before the Sioux, they removed again and again, till, in 1805, Lewis and Clarke found them in two villages, one on each side of the river, near the point called Fort Mandan, where those explorers spent the year of 1805-6. Their population was then estimated at one thousand two hundred and fifty; they numbered three hundred and fifty fighting men.

They had a decided superiority over any of the other western tribes in the arts of domestic life. Their pottery was quite convenient, and they relied, without fear, upon their crops of corn, squashes and pumpkins. They did not make war, unless attacked, but fortified their positions with skill and care.

They presented an additional peculiarity in the frequent whiteness of their skin, and light color of their hair. Many of them, who are full-blooded, have beautiful white complexions.

These singularities have undoubtedly given rise to the very general impression which prevailed during the latter part of the last century, that a tribe of "Welsh Indians" existed on the waters of the Missouri. On that impression Mr. Southey was tempted, in part, to found his celebrated poem *Madoc*. Mr. Catlin, who spent much time among the Mandans, and was greatly interested by them, believes the impression that they are descended from *Madoc's* colony well founded. He says that remains of villages like theirs may be found all down the valley of the Missouri and along the Ohio. His impression is that *Madoc* and his followers formed a settlement in the valley of the Ohio; that they intermarried with the natives, and lost some of the distinctive characteristics of their race. He supposes that they were gradually driven from these seats, lower and lower down the Ohio river, till they were obliged to cross the Mississippi; that then the same course of emigration brought them to their present home.

He sustains his theory by an examination of their language. Mr. Gallatin, whose authority we have uniformly followed in classifying the Indian languages, says that the fabulous account of a Welsh origin to the tribe is entirely set aside by a knowledge of its language; and it is regarded by him as a dialect of the *Dahcotah*. Mr. Catlin, however, gives a few Mandan and Welsh words, from familiar language, together; which certainly sustain, in part, his hypothesis. These are,

English.	Mandan.	Welsh.	Pronounced.
I	Me	Mi	Me
You	Ne	Chwi	Chwe
He	E	A	A
She	Ea	E	A
It	Ount	Hwynt	Hooynt
We	Noo	Ni	Ne
They	Eonah	Hwna, <i>mas</i>	Hoona
		Hona, <i>fem</i>	Hona
No : there is not : Megosh		Nagoes	Nagosh
No		{ Nage Nag Na	
Head	Pan	Pen	Pan
The Great } Spirit }	Maho peneta	Mawr peneathir * Ysprid Mawr †	Maoor panaether Uspryd Maoor

There can be no doubt that the chief element of the language as spoken to-day is Dahcotah. But the chief part of the language spoken by cultivated Welshmen, in Wales, is English. All that could be expected in the case of the relic of a Welsh colony would be that a few words should be preserved. The women of such a colony would be mostly Indians ; and, in the changes of nearly a thousand years, the Welsh element of language would fare ill.

A more decisive argument against the Welsh origin of this interesting people, is the silence of their own traditions regarding it. They call themselves "the people of the pheas-

\* To act as supreme.

† The Great Spirit.

ant," See-pohs-ka-nu-mah-ka-kee. It is to be noticed that there are no pheasants nearer them than the forests of Indiana, on the east, or those of the Rocky Mountains, six hundred miles west of them.

This fact is a decisive indication that they are emigrants from a very considerable distance. They contend that they were the first people on the earth. "They originally lived inside the earth," says one of their legends. "They raised many vines, and one of them had grown up through a hole in the earth, overhead, and one of their young men climbed up it, until he came out on the top of the ground, on the bank of the river where the Mandan village stands. He looked around and admired the beautiful country and prairies about him, saw many buffaloes, killed one with his bow and arrows, and found its meat was good to eat. He returned and related what he had seen, when a number of others went up the vine with him, and witnessed the same things. Among those who went up were two very pretty young women, who were favorites with the chiefs; and among those who were trying to get up was a very large and fat woman, who was ordered by the chiefs not to go up, but whose curiosity led her to try it as soon as she got a secret opportunity, when there was no one present. When she got part of the way up, the vine broke under the great weight of her body, and let her down. She was very much hurt by the fall, but did not die. The Mandans were very sorry about this, and she was disgraced for being the cause

of a great calamity which she had brought upon them, which could never be averted, for no more could ever ascend, nor could those descend who had got up; but they built the Mandan village where it formerly stood, a great way below on the river; and the remainder of the people live under ground to this day."

This tradition is told with great gravity by the chiefs and doctors, who even profess to hear their friends talk through the earth at certain times and places.

When Mr. Catlin visited them, both villages were on the west side of the Missouri, at the point just now described. These villages are about two miles distant from each other; beautifully located, and judiciously, also, for defence against the assaults of their enemies. The site of the lower town, which is the principal one, in particular, is one of the most beautiful and pleasing spots that can be seen in the world. It is in the very midst of an extensive valley, surrounded by hills covered with an interminable green, fading to blue as they recede into the far distance. On an extensive plain, covered with green turf, upon which, as far as the eye can possibly range, not a tree or bush is to be seen, rise from the ground, and towards the heavens, the domes of the earth-built huts which constitute this semi-subterraneous village.

The ground on which it is built is upon a nearly perpendicular bank of solid rock, forty or fifty feet above the bed of the river, which, at this place, changes its course to a



right-angle, thereby making a natural defence upon two sides of the village. They have, therefore, but one side to protect, which is effectually done by a strong piquet, and a ditch *inside* of it, of three or four feet in depth.

The village has a most novel effect to the eye of a stranger; the lodges are closely grouped together, leaving but just room enough for walking or riding between them; they appear, from without, to be built entirely of dirt; but one is surprised on entering them to see the interior neatness and comfort. They are all of a circular form, and are from forty to sixty feet in diameter. Their foundations are prepared by digging some two feet in the ground, where a floor of earth is formed, and the superstructure is then produced, by arranging inside the excavation a barrier of timbers, of about six feet in height. From the tops of these converge, to a central point, smaller timbers, forming a roof; rising, at an angle of forty-five degrees, to the apex or sky-light, which, at the same time, serves as a chimney. The roof is supported and strengthened by timbers underneath it; the exterior is covered with a close matting of willow boughs to protect it from the thick incrustation of earth and clay with which the lodge is covered to the depth of two or three feet. This, by long use, becomes hardened, and is quite impervious to water. It is here that the whole family, resident inside, assemble in pleasant weather, making it their observatory and lounging-place; when the weather is favorable, upon the roof of almost every lodge

may be seen a group of its inhabitants,—chiefs, women, children and dogs.

To a stranger, standing upon one of these roofs, the view presented is the strangest medley that can be imagined. On the roofs, besides the living groups, are buffaloes' skulls, skin canoes, pots and pottery, sleds and sledges; and on poles, erected some twenty feet above the doors of their wigwams, are suspended, on a pleasant day, the scalps of warriors, preserved as trophies, and thus proudly exposed as evidences of their warlike deeds. In other parts are raised on poles the warriors' whitened shields and quivers, with medicine bags attached; and here and there a sacrifice of red cloth, or other costly stuff, offered up to the Great Spirit, over the door of some benignant chief, in humble gratitude for the blessings he is enjoying. Amidst all this, and through the blue smoke that rises from every lodge, can be seen, stretching into distance, the green and boundless prairie.

The floors of these dwellings are of earth, but so hardened by use, and swept so clean, that they have almost a polish, and would hardly soil the whitest linen! In the centre is the fire-place, a circular hole, sunk a foot or more from the surface, and curbed with stone. Over the fire-place is generally seen the pot or kettle, filled with buffalo meat, and around it are the family, reclining in the most picturesque attitudes upon their buffalo robes, or mats of rushes.

These cabins are so spacious that they hold from twenty

to forty persons,—a family and all its connections. They all sleep on bedsteads, similar to ours in form, of round poles lashed rudely together with thongs, while buffalo robes take the place of mattress, pillow and blanket. They are uniformly screened with a covering of buffalo or elk skins, placed over the flame-like curtains, leaving a hole in front, for the occupant to pass in or out. Some of these coverings are exceedingly beautiful, being cut tastefully into fringe, and handsomely ornamented with porcupine's quills and hieroglyphics.

In the centre of the village is an open space, or public area, of one hundred and fifty feet in diameter, and circular in form, which is used for all public games and festivals, shows and exhibitions, and also for the annual religious ceremonies. The lodges around the open space front in, with their doors towards the centre.

The Mandans never bury their dead, but place the bodies on slight scaffolds, just above the reach of human hands, and out of the way of wolves and dogs. They are there left to moulder and decay. This cemetery, or place of deposit for the dead, is just behind the village on a level prairie. With its appearance, history and forms, it is one of the strangest and most interesting objects to be described in the vicinity of this peculiar race.

When a person dies in the Mandan village, and the customary honors have been paid to his remains, the body is brought to this spot, where a separate scaffold is erected for

it, on which it is placed, dressed in its best attire, painted, oiled, supplied with bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco, and provision enough to last him a few days on the journey which it is believed is to be performed. A fresh buffalo skin is wrapped about the body, and tightly bound with thongs of raw hide. The feet are carefully turned towards the rising sun. Some hundreds of these bodies may be seen reposing in this manner in this curious place, which the Indians call "the village of the dead."

When the scaffolds, on which the bodies rest, decay and fall to the ground, the nearest relations, having buried the rest of the bones, take the skulls, which are perfectly bleached and purified, and place them in circles, of a hundred or more, on the prairie, placed at equal distances apart, with the faces all looking to the centre, where they are religiously protected and preserved, in their precise positions, from year to year, as objects of religious and affectionate veneration.

There are several of these circles, of twenty or thirty feet in diameter, on which uniformly rest two buffalo skulls; and in the centre of the little mound is erected a "medicine pole," about twenty feet high, supporting many curious articles, which are supposed to have the power of guarding and protecting the sacred spot. To this strange place do these people resort, to hold conversations of affection and fond endearment with the dead. There is scarcely an hour in a pleasant day when more or less of the women may not

be seen sitting by the skull of a child or husband, while they are embroidering a pair of moccasins, or engaged in other needlework ; or, perhaps, one fallen asleep with her arms around the skull, forgetting herself for hours.

Living in permanent homes, during the period when they were not exposed to the contaminations of civilization, the Mandans acquired an agreeable gentleness and courtesy of manners, scarcely known to roving tribes, which all travellers have noticed. They are constantly called the "friendly and hospitable Mandans," "the gentlemanly Mandans," "the polite Mandans;" and it is proverbial, says Mr. Vaughn, that they have always received the whites with graceful and dignified hospitality. The peculiar ease and elegance of their manners seem to indicate, indeed, some peculiarity of origin.

A stranger in the Mandan village is first struck with the different shades of complexion, and various colors of hair, which he sees in the crowd about him, and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that "these are not Indians!" There are a great many of the people whose complexions appear as light as half-breeds, and, among the women particularly, there are many whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry and proportion of features; with hazel, gray, and blue eyes; mildness and sweetness of expression, and excessive modesty of demeanor, which render them exceedingly pleasing and beautiful.

They render no account themselves of this diversity of

complexion. Their traditions afford us no information of their having had any knowledge of white men before the visit of Lewis and Clarke to the village. Since that time there have been but very few visits of white men to this place, and surely not enough to have changed the complexions and customs of a nation.

The differences in the color of hair are as great as in complexions ; for, in a numerous group of these people (and more particularly among the females, who never take pains to change its natural color, as the men often do), there may be seen every shade and color of hair, with the exception of red or auburn, which is not to be found, and it is a strange peculiarity that there are very many natives, of both sexes and of every age, from infancy to manhood and old age, with hair of a bright silvery gray, and, in some instances, almost perfectly white.

The stature of the Mandans is rather below the ordinary size of man, with beautiful symmetry of form and proportions, and wonderful suppleness and elasticity. They are pleasingly erect and graceful, both in their movements and attitudes, easy and polite in their manners, neat in their persons, and beautifully clad.

Like all the other tribes, the Mandans lead lives of idleness, and, of course, devote a great deal of time to their sports and amusements, of which they have a great variety. Of these dancing is one of the principal, and may be seen in a variety of forms, such as the buffalo dance, the scalp dance,

and a dozen other kinds of dances, all of which have their peculiar characters and meanings, or objects.

The principal occupations of the women consist in procuring wood and water, in cooking, dressing robes and other skins, drying meat and wild fruit, and raising Indian corn.

The Mandans raise a great deal of corn, and some pumpkins and squashes. This is all done by the women, who make their hoes of the shoulder-blade of the buffalo or the elk, and dig the ground over instead of ploughing it; a duty involving, of course, a vast deal of labor. They raise a small sort of corn, the ears of which are not much larger than a man's thumb. The green corn season is one of great festivity with them, and one of much importance. The greater part of their crop is eaten during these festivals, and the remainder is gathered and dried on the cob before it has ripened, and is packed away into holes in the ground, tightly closed at the top.

The annual religious ceremony of the Mandans is an occasion of much importance, in their estimation; and, like too many of the similar rites of Indian tribes, it is conducted with inhuman barbarities and cruelties, one of the objects of it being to conduct all the young men of the tribe through an ordeal of privation and torture, which, while it is supposed to harden their muscles and prepare them for extreme endurance, enables the chiefs, who are spectators to the scene, to decide upon their comparative bodily strength and ability to endure the extreme privations

and sufferings that fall to the lot of Indian warriors. This part of the ceremony is too shocking and revolting to be described to civilized ears.

The season of these ceremonies is fixed at the time when the willow is in full leaf; — a reference to their traditional history of the flood, which, it is very evident from this and other features of the grand ceremony, they have in some way or other received, and are endeavoring to perpetuate, by vividly impressing it on the minds of the whole nation. This is not surprising, as in the vicinity of almost every Indian tribe there is some high mountain where they insist upon it the “big canoe” landed; but that these people should hold an annual celebration of the event, and the season should be decided by such circumstances as the full leaf of the willow, is truly remarkable. Their tradition is that “the twig that the bird brought home was a willow bough, and had full-grown leaves on it,” and the bird to which they allude is the turtle dove, which is not to be destroyed or harmed by any one, and even their dogs are trained not to do it injury.

It would seem from these traditions that these people must have had some proximity to some part of the civilized world; or that missionaries or others have been formerly among them, inculcating the Christian religion and the Mosaic account of the flood, which is, in this and some other respects, decidedly different from the theory which most of the aborigines have regarding that event. This vague resemblance, how-



ever, to the Mosaic account of the deluge, seems to be the only token that has been observed of any knowledge of any of the Christian Scriptures. Now, Madoc and his colony were men trained in the Christianity of their day, and took with them, doubtless, Christian ministers, and the symbols of the Christian faith.\*

These accounts are mostly digested from Mr. Catlin's narrative. In the summer of 1838, however, after his visit there, while besieged by Sioux war-parties, the Mandan village was ravaged by small pox, and almost the whole population swept away. The fragment now existing is but a wreck in numbers and in spirit. They retain their old characteristics, however, as may be seen by the expression which we have quoted above from Mr. Vaughn's report of last

\* Mr. Southey's remarks, in the preface to his poem, are in these words : " Madoc abandoned his barbarous country, and sailed away to the west, in search of some better resting-place. The land which he discovered pleased him : he left there part of his people, and went back to Wales for a fresh supply of adventurers, with whom he again set sail, and was heard of no more. Strong evidence has been adduced that he reached America, and that his posterity exist there to this day, on the southern branches of the Missouri, retaining their complexion, their language, and, in some degree, their arts." This was written in 1805 ; but, in 1815, he added this note :

" That country has now been fully explored, and, wherever Madoc may have settled, it is now certain that no Welsh Indians are to be found upon any branches of the Missouri."

The most plausible ground, perhaps, for an enthusiast in the Welsh origin of the Mandans to take, would be that they are the representatives, not of Madoc's large colony, but of the small party he left in possession after his first voyage. A Welsh colony of ten ships, fitted for settlement, would have left some sign, had they ever landed : a handful of seamen would be more easily absorbed.

year. They and the Arickarees and Gros-Ventres, who plant the soil, do not all together number more than two thousand two hundred and fifty souls.

South of the settlements of this unfortunate tribe, and ranging all along the Missouri river north of the Platte, are the Dahcotah or Sioux tribes. The names of the leading divisions have been given above. It must be understood, however, that these several bands unite under no central government, and acknowledge no common head. We copy Mr. Parkman's well-digested account of them, reminding the reader that this gentleman spent several weeks in the Ogillalah lodges.

"They do not unite," he says, "even in their wars. The bands of the east fight the Ojibwas on the upper lakes; those of the north make incessant war upon the Snake Indians in the Rocky Mountains. As the whole people is divided into bands, so each band is divided into villages. Each village has a chief, who is honored and obeyed only so far as his personal qualities may command respect and fear. Sometimes he is a mere nominal chief; sometimes his authority is little short of absolute, and his fame and influence reach even beyond his own village; so that the whole band to which he belongs is ready to acknowledge him as their head. This was, a few years since, the case with the Ogillalah. Courage, address and enterprise may raise any warrior to the highest honor, especially if he be the son of a former chief, or a member of a numer-

ous family, who will support him and avenge his quarrels. But, when he has reached the dignity of chief, and the old men and warriors, by a peculiar ceremony, have formally installed him, let it not be imagined that he assumes any of the outward semblances of rank and honor. He knows too well on how frail a tenure he holds his station. He must conciliate his uncertain subjects. Many a man in the village lives better, owns more squaws and more horses, and goes better clad than he. Like the Teutonic chiefs of old, he ingratiates himself with his young men by making them presents, thereby often impoverishing himself. Does he fail in gaining their favor, they will set his authority at naught, and may desert him at any moment; for the usages of his people have provided no sanctions by which he may enforce his authority. Very seldom does it happen, at least among these western bands, that a chief attains to much power, unless he is the head of a numerous family. Frequently the village is principally made up of his relatives and descendants, and the wandering community assumes much of the patriarchal character. A people so loosely united, torn, too, with rankling feuds and jealousies, can have little power or efficiency.

“The western Dahcotah have no fixed habitations. Hunting and fighting, they wander incessantly, through summer and winter. Some are following the herds of buffalo over the waste of prairies, others are traversing the Black Hills, thronging, on horseback and on foot, through

the dark gulfs and sombre gorges, beneath the vast splintering precipices, and emerging at last upon the 'Parks,' those beautiful but most perilous hunting-grounds. The buffalo supplies them with almost all the necessities of life ; with habitations, food, clothing and fuel ; with strings for their bows ; with thread, cordage and trail-ropes for their horses ; with coverings for their saddles, with vessels to hold water, with boats to cross streams, with glue, and with the means of purchasing all that they desire from the traders. When the buffalo is extinct, they, too, must dwindle away.

" War is the breath of their nostrils. Against most of the neighboring tribes they cherish a deadly, rancorous hatred, transmitted from father to son, and inflamed by constant aggression and retaliation. Many times a year, in every village, the Great Spirit is called upon, fasts are made, the war-parade is celebrated, and the warriors go out by handfuls at a time against the enemy. This fierce and evil spirit awakens their most eager aspirations, and calls forth their greatest energies. It is chiefly this that saves them from lethargy and utter abasement. Without its powerful stimulus, they would be like the unwarlike tribes beyond the mountains, who are scattered among the caves and rocks like beasts, living on roots and reptiles. These latter have little of humanity except the form ; but the proud and ambitious Dahcotah warrior can sometimes boast of heroic virtues. It is very seldom that distinction and influence are attained among them by any other course than

that of arms. Their superstition, however, sometimes gives great power to those among them who pretend to the character of magicians. Their wild hearts, too, can feel the power of oratory, and yield deference to the masters of it.

“But to return. Look into our tent, or enter, if you can bear the stifling smoke and the close atmosphere. There, wedged close together, you will see a circle of stout warriors passing the pipe around, joking, telling stories, and making themselves merry, after their fashion. We were also infested by little copper-colored naked boys and snake-eyed girls. They would come up to us, muttering certain words, which, being interpreted, conveyed the concise invitation, ‘Come and eat!’ Then we would rise, cursing the pertinacity of Dahcotah hospitality, which allowed scarcely an hour of rest between sun and sun, and to which we were bound to do honor, unless we would offend our entertainers. This necessity was particularly burdensome to me, as I was scarcely able to walk from the effects of illness, and was, of course, poorly qualified to dispose of twenty meals a day. So bounteous an entertainment looks like an outgushing of good-will ; but, doubtless, one half, at least, of our kind hosts, had they met us alone and unarmed on the prairie, would have robbed us of our horses, and, perchance, have bestowed an arrow upon us beside. Trust not an Indian. Let your rifle be ever in your hand. Wear next your heart the old chivalric motto, ‘Semper Paratus.’ ”

It must be understood that most of the Dahcotah or Sioux tribes are scattered among the valleys of the Upper Missouri; although some, like that visited by Mr. Parkman, range in the neighborhood of the mountains in the western part of Kansas. Those of the Upper Missouri are divided into the

*Prulle* band, one hundred and fifty lodges, the most southerly.

*Yancton* band, three hundred and seventy-five lodges, from White river up to Fort Pierre, on both sides of the river.

*Two Kettle* band, one hundred and sixty-five lodges, on the Little Missouri.

*Yanctonais* band, east of the Missouri.

*Blackfeet* Sioux, one hundred and fifty lodges, and Ouk-pas, two hundred and eighty lodges, from the Cannonball river, one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles south-west.

*Sans Arcs* band, one hundred and sixty lodges, and Minne Conzus, two hundred and twenty-five lodges, north of Washteg river, and running back to the Black Hills.

In calculating the population, about nine persons may be estimated as the average number in each lodge.

The Dahcotah language has been carefully studied. Its grammar, and a vocabulary, edited by Rev. S. R. Riggs, are among the Smithsonian Institution's "Contributions to Science."

The Crow Indians, or Upsarokas, inhabit the country on the waters of the Yellowstone. In September, 1851, when they entered into a treaty with the government, they numbered four hundred lodges, but, in the same year, they suffered under a very severe visitation of small pox, which reduced their number four hundred. They have never cultivated the soil, but subsist entirely upon buffalo, deer, elk, and antelope, with which their country abounds. They are eager to accumulate horses, and own large numbers, as many as twenty to a lodge. Like the other prairie tribes, they marry several wives, — each man having from two to five, it is said. One of these is the favorite, who is, in a measure, exempt from labor. The drudgery of the lodge falls upon the others.

Below the Indians known as Dahcotahs, on the Missouri river, are the Puncas, Omahas, and Ottoes, all speaking kindred dialects of Dahcotah origin. The Puncas are most northerly. They are but a handful, their once powerful tribe having been almost exterminated by small pox. Next them are the Omahas, whose country is opposite to Iowa, stretching northerly from Council Bluff. The temptations afforded by the white settlements are unfortunately too strong for them; — the agent complains that he cannot check the traffic in liquor. The Omahas raised corn enough for their winter's supply, last year; and the agent reported that the judicious use of an annuity of five thousand dollars, due

them from government, would save them from suffering during the winter and spring.

With the Ottoes are confederated the Missouris. Their country is on the Missouri, from the Little Nemaha to the Nebraska. They are reduced to wretched poverty, from a series of circumstances, first among which the agent places the failure of the government to fulfil its treaties with them. Their game is driven off by the emigrants to Utah, California and Oregon, and they have never received the agricultural implements to which they are entitled. If, meanwhile, they trespass on the territory of other tribes to hunt, they are driven back with loss of life and property. Even what is called their hunting-ground is not safe from incursions of northern Sioux who rob and kill them.

The first tribe known to the whites in this region was the Pawnees, who were visited by Dutisne, as we have seen, in 1719. They were, for a century, divided into four villages: the Republican Pawnees, who gave its name to Republican Fork of the Kansas, the Loup Pawnees, the Tappage Pawnees, and the Grand Pawnees. A warlike tribe numbering some twenty-five thousand, they claimed sway, thirty years ago, over the whole region watered by the Nebraska river, from the Rocky Mountains to its mouth. The Ottoes, Omahas, Missouris and Puncabs, at last acknowledged their superiority, and lived under their protection. In 1832, however, all these tribes were ravaged by the small pox, and it is said that the Pawnees then lost



half of their population. On the ninth of October, the next year, they disposed of all their land lying south of the Nebraska river, and agreed to locate themselves north of that river, and west of the Missouri. This they did. The government assisted them, and provided them with comfortable houses, good farms, mechanic shops, and a school-house, and the new village seemed to prosper. But large bodies of Dahcotahs came down on the new settlement, burned the Pawnees' houses, carried off their horses, mules and other stock, drove away the blacksmiths and teachers, and the poor Indians were compelled to retreat to the south side of the Nebraska; some to their allies the Ottoes, some to their old villages. They are now settled near the Ottoes and Omahas. Like them, they suffer by the loss of their game, which is driven off by emigrants. More unfortunate than they, they cannot obtain from government the agricultural implements promised them in the treaty, apparently because they have returned to the south side of the river, to the lands which they then abandoned. Within three or four years only it is said that they have lost half their number by sickness, and by the murderous assaults of the Sioux and other tribes. They are dependent altogether upon hunting, stealing and begging from the emigrants. The Pawnee children are represented more largely than any others at the school of the Ottoe and Omaha mission.

Their language is entirely distinct from that of any other Indian nation.

We have thus named, in order, from the north, the various native tribes, till we have come to the reservations of the Indians removed from the east by the general government. These fragments of tribes have been already described.

West of them, around the forks of Kansas river, is the hunting-ground of the Kansas tribe, from whom this river and territory have their names. This name is spelled by different writers in many different ways. Cansas, Conzas, Konsas, Kansas, and Kanzas, are the most frequent. The tribe has always existed in this vicinity.

The Santa Fé road passes through their country, and the temptation which the emigration gives to their stealing propensities seems to afford their principal occupation. They are a wild, roving people, wholly careless of civilized arts. "I am unable to say whether they have been improved by the efforts of the missionaries," is the bitter report of the government agent, "who have labored for them for the last thirty years, or not; if they have been, I am inclined to think they were a miserable set of beings when the missionaries began." They have a school, but will not send their daughters to it, and take the boys away as soon as they are old enough to hunt.

Some years ago the government had three hundred acres of land prepared for planting. Early in the spring, a few Indians began to plough, under the direction of their teachers; but the chiefs sent out their braves, cut up the harness,-

broke the ploughs, and whipped the men away, saying that the women should do all the work, as they had done. The nation numbers one thousand three hundred, and there are but two log cabins among them all. The rest prefer the lodges of their savage life.

The Kansas Indians intermarry with the Osages, having been at peace with them for most of the last fifty years. These two tribes speak the same dialect of the Dahcotah.

The Osages inhabit the southern line of the territory of Kansas. This, also, is a tribe spoken of by the first explorers. They are still in the savage condition of their fathers. They go, twice a year, six or eight hundred miles into the grand prairie to hunt, and to trade with the still wilder Indians of the west and north-west. These hunting expeditions occupy three or four months each. In the spring they plant a little corn, which they attempt to harvest in the fall, before the fall hunt begins. They live in lodges covered with mats, made out of the flag that grows in the swamp lands of their prairies. Their land, except along the streams, is generally poor. The low lands are subject to annual inundations.

Besides these tribes, which have some settled habitations, roving tribes of Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and sometimes Camanches, infest these territories. Their customs are those of all wandering Indians, and their incursions dreaded, if they are in considerable numbers, by all the settled tribes.

A small band of Munsee or Moravian Christian Indians

reside on the Delaware lands. They are represented as rather a dissipated set, with a few good and intelligent men. Their number in all is about one hundred and forty. About twenty-five Stockbridge Indians, half civilized and somewhat educated, live in the neighborhood of Fort Leavenworth.

We have thus attempted a rapid review of the emigrant Indians, and of those native to the region now found within the territories of Nebraska and Kansas. We have spoken, in detail, only of those tribes whose present position offers anything of special interest. The review is anything but agreeable. It seems fair to say, however, that a careful view of the Indian character and history does not wholly bear out the charges, constantly made, that these tribes are reduced to poverty and misery by the advance of civilization. Poverty and misery are, in fact, their normal and original condition. They are their own worst enemies. As Lewis and Clarke found them, when there was almost no trade, when they had not fire-arms, liquor, nor the diseases of civilized life, they were suffering, as they suffer now, under the wretchedness which will follow childish improvidence and indolence. Lewis and Clarke supposed that there might be one hundred and fifty thousand Indians east of the Rocky Mountains, west of the Missouri and Mississippi. On that estimate, they occupied the finest country in the world, in as scanty a proportion as one man to ten square

miles. Its valleys and prairies were the most fertile known. Its wild game, alone, is enough to feed a vastly greater population. Yet, even then, these tribes knew the agonies of starvation, and were not increasing in number. Their constant wars kept down their population, and their distaste for settled habitation made any sort of civilization impossible. The Mandans were the only exception. And the Mandans were diminishing in number under the attacks of the wandering tribes.

Of the Emigrant Indians the history is more sad. The government of the United States has assumed a responsibility with them. It pays large sums to them, annually, in annuities ; it supports teachers of agriculture and of religion among them ; it supplies smiths, tools, stock, salt, and the necessities of farming, and attempts to call them to the habits of civilized life. These efforts are not wholly without success, as has been seen. The great obstacle in the way of them is the passion of the Indians for spirits, and the difficulty in checking the introduction of spirits among them.

The agents and missionaries agree in pointing this out as the greatest of evils to the natives. They acknowledge that they fail in keeping the fascinating poison from the people of their charges. If the whites do not bring it, the Indians go for it. Where traders do not sell it, emigrants do.

The only success that has been achieved in any of the Indian agencies of the West, in calling the natives into civ-

ilized life, has been in cases where the "tribe" system has been wholly broken up, where each family has its own freehold, and lives under the same responsibilities, and with the same stimulants for useful labor, as civilized men.

The little community of Ottowas and that of Chippewas, described above, under Mr. Meeker's truly Christian care, *increasing in numbers*, by a happy exception to the almost universal law of Indian annihilation, illustrate the success of this system. It is understood that in the treaties now pending, by which the general government attempts to release for settlement some of the lands now held in Indian reservations, this principle is to be tested.\* Each head of a family is to select his own homestead, and, when the rest is sold, the proceeds are to be given, not to the tribe, but to the several families of the tribe. Side by side with this effort is to be ranked a petition of the Wyandots, that they may be admitted to the privileges of American citizens. There is no reason why, if they assume the habits and the culture of civilized life, they should not be so admitted. They will soon learn that their application should be made, not to the general government, but to the local government of Kansas. If the hopes entertained of civilizing the Indians, by giving each man his own home, be gratified; if the Indian settlers show the manliness which the little companies of Chippewas and Ottowas alluded to have shown,

\* As this book is passing through the press, it is understood that these treaties have been ratified.

there is no reason why the constitution of the new state should not recognize this claim. It may then safely grant the privileges of citizenship to all men within its borders, and the Indians of Kansas have the fairest chance for themselves and their children, which, since America was discovered, any natives have enjoyed.

Among these Indians, in general, the men are taller than the average of Europeans. The women are shorter and thicker. The average facial angle is  $78^{\circ}$ , the transverse line of direction of the eyes is rectilinear, the nose aquiline, the lips thicker than those of Europeans, the cheek-bones prominent but not angular. The Arkansas Indians, an off-shoot from the Kansas, struck the French as such fine men, that they called them "*les Beaux Hommes*," supposing that to be the meaning of their name.

The word NEBRASKA means flat. It is given by the Indians, therefore, to the broad and shallow Nebraska river.

It is almost impossible to present any accurate statement of the population of these tribes. The estimates of the government agents, corrected in one or two instances where we have additional information, give, of

Assineboins in the United States, . . . . .	4,000
Rapids or Gros-Ventres, . . . . .	3,500
Blackfeet, . . . . .	11,000
Mandans, Ricaras and Minetares, . . . . .	2,250
Crows, . . . . .	2,500
Dahcotahs or Sioux of Upper Missouri, . . . . .	15,640

Puncabs, Iowas, Winnebagoes and "Half-breeds," . 1,000

Other EMIGRANT TRIBES, namely, Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri (200); Kickapoos, Delawares, Wyandots (553); Shawnees, Pot- tawatomies, Sacs and Foxes of the Missississippi (2,173); Chippewas of Swan Creek (30); Ottowas (247); Peorias, Kaskaskias, Weas and Piankeshaws, with Omahas, and Ottoes, and Missourias, who are not Emigrants,	14,384 *
Pawnees, Kansas, Osages, . . . . .	11,000 †
There are also fragments of Munsees and Stock- bridges, . . . . .	150
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Total, . . . . . 65,374

who are scattered over a territory embracing about five hundred thousand square miles.

The Camanches, Kiaways, Apaches, Arapahoes and Cheyennes are roving tribes, of whom no estimate is made. The Camanches seldom come so far north as Kansas in large numbers.

The tribes here described as Emigrant tribes held the finest portions of Nebraska and Kansas, under the treaties with government, by which they were removed from their

\* With these Indians, councils were held last year. At that time they held thirteen million two hundred and twenty thousand four hundred and eighty acres of land; an average of nine hundred and twenty acres each.

† Who held, before the recent treaties, about eighteen million acres of land.



old homes. Their number, however, had been diminishing so rapidly, that even had they ever needed all this land, they could not now occupy it, while the beauty and fertility of the land attracted the eager attention of settlers. The obligations of the government, however, have been loyally maintained. No "squatting" has been permitted on these regions, and, although the Indians have suffered from the passage of emigrant parties through their reservations, that right was left to the whites by the treaties by which the reservations were made.

As early as 1848 the Indian department suggested some measures for obtaining possession for the government of a part of these lands, that they might be thrown open to settlement. No authority was granted for treaties, however, till 1853, when Mr. Manypenny, the Indian commissioner, went into the territories to attempt some arrangement with the tribes. He was not very successful, however, and the matter was deferred till the last spring. This year treaties have been negotiated with almost all of these tribes. These sheets are put to press before those treaties have been printed. But it appears from a letter of Mr. Manypenny that the Omahas, Ottoes and Missouriias, Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri, and Kickapoos, have sold all their land to the government, with the reservation of their own homesteads only. The Iowas have sold all theirs but ninety-six thousand acres; and the Delawares, all but five hundred and thirty-eight thousand five hundred acres. These two reser-

vations, amounting to six hundred and thirty-four thousand five hundred acres, are, however, to be surveyed and put into the market with the rest, by the United States officers; but there will be no preëmption rights upon these, and the money paid by purchasers will be paid to the Indians themselves. These treaties have been ratified by the Senate.

Similar treaties with the tribes south of the Kansas throw open to settlers two million twenty-six thousand acres of their land; all, indeed, owned by these tribes, except two hundred and eight thousand one hundred and sixty acres, belonging to the Weas and Piankeshaws, which is to be sold for their benefit, like the Delaware and Iowa reservations spoken of above. It is understood that these treaties were ratified by the Senate at the close of the session just finished, although the official promulgation had not been made when this sheet was prepared for publication. There are, therefore, no material obstructions to settlement arising from the Indian titles, though it may be necessary, for a few months, for settlers to abstain from locating on the three small reservations spoken of. Nearly fourteen million acres are open, however, for their selection.

## CHAPTER III.

### NEBRASKA.

Rivers — Valleys — Soil and face of the country.

THE opportunities offered in the new territories for the arts of civilized life, open the questions most interesting at the present time.

They are watered by streams, which form together the most remarkable system of rivers in the world. From the head waters of the Missouri, to the sea, is a longer channel than that of any other river. This majestic stream has no break to navigation, from the Great Falls to the ocean, a distance of more than four thousand miles. Steamboats of fifteen inches draft can ascend to the falls, at any season of the year, excepting when the river is frozen; and much larger vessels, for a considerable part of the spring and summer.

The current of the Missouri is rapid, its shores generally bold. Its water is deeply tinged with the earth it bears along. In time of freshet, a piece of shell or of silver cannot be seen when more than a quarter of an inch from the

surface. This peculiarity gave it the name of the Muddy river, that being the meaning of the two names Pekitanoui and Missouri, which, in different languages of the Indians, it has borne.

Where the Kansas river enters it, at the western boundary of the State of Missouri, this magnificent stream is, according to the measurement of Lewis and Clarke, five hundred yards wide. At the Great Falls they found it, in different places, three hundred and four hundred yards wide, and occasionally expanding to a much greater breadth. Two or three hundred miles above the falls, by the river, its width varies from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty yards. At that point, Jefferson, Madison and Gallatin rivers unite to form it, and the name Missouri there begins. These streams are of nearly the same width, about seventy yards wide each. Gov. Stevens, in his late report, expresses the opinion that a small steamboat, built above the falls, could perform most of the distance to this point without interruption.

The measurements here given are to be regarded only as approximations even to an average estimate of the width of the river in various parts. In spring, the volume of its waters is materially increased, and they overflow the bottom lands upon its shores.

The country from the falls down to the river, a distance of two thousand six hundred miles, may be in general characterized as prairie. Its general level is high above the

bed of the river, varying from two to three hundred feet above it. The river has formed for itself a bed, now two, now twenty miles wide, through this prairie region. It overflows the whole of this bed at the highest water, and leaves on the meadows the deepest and richest alluvial soil, through which winds the singularly circuitous current of the river.

The channel constantly changes in the passage through this alluvial formation, new sand-bars are formed, and old ones washed away.

The bluffs formed at the edge of the meadows present very curious appearances to the voyager. They are sometimes entirely bare, but generally clothed with verdure. Thousands of different forms may be made out, sometimes assuming the aspect of artificial works — domes, ramparts, terraces, towers, castles, solitary columns, and even spires of clay. The singularity of these formations puzzles the geologist, while it amuses the traveller. As he passes up the river, the country is less broken and more picturesque. A thousand miles, or more, just below the Yellowstone, is described by Mr. Catlin as enchanting as fairy land; of the deepest green, varied with every possible diversity, and covered with herds of buffaloes, with elk, antelopes, mountain goats and sneaking wolves.

In general, the country of the lower part of this valley lacks wood for useful purposes. The immediate shores of the river, however, abound in cotton-wood, which fills it with snags, sawyers and drift-wood; and the bottoms of the

tributary streams are, in general, well wooded. At Fort Mandan, Lewis and Clarke used elm wood of large size, and found ash of inferior size.

On the tributaries of the Upper Missouri, above the Yellowstone, timber is more abundant, and will probably be found valuable for lumbering purposes. In his survey, last summer, of the Maria river, which discharges into the Missouri on its north side, about the meridian of  $110^{\circ}$ , Gov. Stevens found immense forests, obstructing the way in all directions. These are, he says, the principal obstacles to the survey of all these passes. On the great river itself, Lewis and Clarke speak of the timber as more abundant as they ascended to its sources.

The most important tributary to the Missouri in the northern part of the territory is the Yellowstone, so called after the French, who had named it *La Roche Jaune*. Its sources are in the Wind River Mountains, near the South Pass. Capt. Clarke descended it, from near its source to its mouth, in 1807. Its general direction is north-east. For eight hundred and thirty-seven miles above its junction with the Missouri, he found it large and navigable for batteaux, there being none of the moving sand-bars of the Missouri, and only one ledge of rock, which is not difficult to pass. Its tributary rivers may be ascended in boats for a considerable distance. The banks are low, but bold, and nowhere subject to be overflowed, except for a short distance below the mountains. In the upper parts of the river, Capt. Clarke

found the current four and a half miles an hour; at its mouth, not more than two. The whole country watered by it is described as fertile, rich, and open. Above Clarke's Fork, it consists of high, waving plains, bordered by stony hills partly supplied with pine. There is less timber below, and still less near the Missouri.

The valleys of the Yellowstone, and of its tributaries, will be the garden of northern Nebraska. They abound in buffalo, beaver, and otter, and are a favorite resort of hunters and trappers, notwithstanding the hostility of the Blackfeet, who range through them. In Captain Bonneville's *Adventures*, edited by Mr. Irving, will be found interesting narratives of several journeys of his through this region.

At the mouth of the Yellowstone, at a point indicated as early as 1806, by Lewis and Clarke, as a favorable spot for a station, the American Fur Company have their principal fort, Fort Union. The Missouri here is three hundred and thirty yards wide, with a deep channel; the Yellowstone, near three hundred. The space between the rivers is well wooded, and rises, in a series of plains, quite above the inundations of the stream, and extending back several miles to the hills. The fort is three hundred feet square, with bastions armed with ordnance.

It seems very probable that a route to Oregon and Washington territories up the valley of the Yellowstone, and so across the Rocky Mountains, may be found, and prove

to have the advantage of the more northerly route by the Upper Missouri.

These great valleys of the waters of the Upper Missouri and the Yellowstone, with the uplands which separate them, constitute by far the principal part of the territory of NEBRASKA, though not that which will be first sought by settlers.

An intelligent writer in the New York Tribune, who is familiar with the country, thus describes the agricultural capabilities of the several parts of it: —

“The surface of the country, from the Missouri river westward to the spurs of the mountains, is rolling prairie, but little diversified in its aspect save by the intersection of its streams. The soil, for a space varying from fifty to one hundred miles west of the Missouri river and the state line, is nearly identical with that of Iowa and Missouri. The highlands are open prairies, covered with grasses; the river-bottom a deep rich loam, shaded by dense forests. From this first district to about the mouth of *L'Eau qui Court* (Running Water river), it is one boundless expanse of rolling prairie, so largely intermixed with sand as to be almost unfit for ordinary agricultural purposes. The prairies are, however, carpeted with succulent grasses, affording an inexhaustible supply for herds of cattle and sheep.

“The third district is a formation of marl and earthy limestone, and extends in a belt of many miles east and west of the Mandan village, on the most northern bend of



the Missouri river, and southward across the southern boundary of the territory. This soil cannot be otherwise than very productive. I should think it especially adapted to wheat, rye, barley, and oats. I have seen, also, very fine Indian corn along the upper valleys of the Missouri river. It is in this district that what are called *buttes* by the Canadian French, and *cerros* by the Spaniards, are profusely scattered. Here and there the traveller finds surfaces, varying in diameter from a hundred feet to a mile, elevated from fifteen to fifty feet above the surrounding surface. They are not hills or knobs, the sides of which are more or less steep and covered with grass. Their sides are nearly perpendicular, their surfaces flat, and often covered with mountain cherries and other shrubs. They have the appearance of having been suddenly elevated above the surrounding surface by some specific cause. This marl and limestone formation is, in many localities, worked into fantastic or picturesque forms by the action of the elements. In one place, especially, called by the traders *La Mauvaise Terre* (the bad ground), and about thirty miles in diameter, it has assumed a marvellous variety of singular forms. From one point of view it assumes the aspect of an extensive and frowning fortification; from another, the appearance of an oriental city crowned with domes and minarets; and from a third, the appearance of a sterile, broken, and unattractive congregation of incongruous elements. These

delusive appearances are produced by distance and the position of the sun.

“The wrecks of the diluvian period of geology are spread all over this region, and most profusely on that portion north of the Missouri river. Detached masses of rock, some of them hundreds of tons in weight, wholly unconnected with the adjacent geological formations, and evidently allied to those of the northern Rocky Mountain region, dot the whole country.

“The district which I will call the fourth, lying north of the Missouri river and west of Minnesota, is a succession of undulating plains, the soil of which is quite fertile but rather dry. These plains are covered with a thick grassy sward, which sustains innumerable herds of bison, elk, and deer.

“The fifth district is at the base of the Black Hills, between that range and the Rocky Mountains, and includes the valley of the Yellowstone, of the Maria's river, and a variety of other small valleys, circumvallated by an amphitheatre of mountains and gorgeous mountain scenery. The valley of the Yellowstone is spacious, fertile, and salubrious. The streams are fringed with trees, from whence the valley expands many miles to the mountains. The traveler can almost imagine himself upon the Danube; for the valley is sprinkled over at long intervals with cyclopean structures of granite, closely assimilated in appearance, from a distant view, to the stern and solitary castles with

which Europe was covered and guarded during the middle ages. But these structures exceed those of Europe in magnitude and grandeur, and the woods and waters are disposed with a taste and beauty which the highest art must ever toil after in vain. It is encircled by a rich girdle of heights and mountains, the bases and dark sides of which are obscured in shrubs, and the summits tufted with noble forest trees. And here is to be the seat of a populous and powerful community in the far future."

Snow falls at the foot of the mountains as early as September, and in the extreme south-eastern points of the territory as early as the first of November. These may be regarded as the two limits, between which the beginning of winter in different parts will range. In general, as one travels farther north and nearer to the mountains, the temperature will, of course, be colder than that of Iowa, which is opposite its south-eastern frontier.

The valley of the Nebraska or Platte river, and that part of the western side of the Missouri river which is below this, will be the parts of Nebraska which will first attract settlers.

The little section of the territory opposite Missouri, now occupied by the Ottoes and by the little colony of Half-breeds which has been described, is, undoubtedly, one of the finest regions in the world. The part of Missouri opposite, known as the Platte Purchase, is regarded as the richest agricultural part of that state. A recent report of

the geological surveyor states, as the result of careful measurements, that the soil there is *fourteen feet deep*. The corner of Nebraska alluded to, and the eastern side of Kansas, appear to share these great physical advantages. Settlers from Iowa and other states have already been "locating" there. The various positions which have received *names* will be described in another chapter.

The following extract describes an expedition from Council Bluffs into this lovely region: —

"A short drive brought us to the Winter Quarters Ferry, twelve miles above on the river, where a good, well-manned, and capacious steam ferry-boat was waiting, and in three minutes we landed all our company upon the far-famed soil of Nebraska. After a refreshing draught from a clear, cold spring that gushes from the hill-side, a few minutes brought us to the encampment of Messrs. Babbitt and Stiles, situated upon a pretty grassy knoll, with the green carpet thickly bespangled with myriads of red, juicy strawberries, which, by the by, abound plentifully in the river-borders of this highly interesting country. A cheerful camp-fire was soon blazing, and our animals turned loose to graze.

"We encircled the broad, spread table (buffalo skins spread on the ground), and regaled upon luxuries. At a reasonable hour the camp-fire was well replenished, and a circular bed of robes, etc., spread, and all retired in quiet to repose, and to dream of the great future of that lovely land.

“Early morn brought the report of horses being missing. A scout soon returned with the conviction that they had been stolen by the Indians. A company of horsemen started on one trail north, while we, with a small company, took the road for the Elkhorn, where we arrived (thirty miles) in good camp time, after passing over a most delightful country for nearly the whole distance. There is, however, quite a scarcity of timber, which may only be found upon the streams.

“We encamped for dinner on the Papillon, where there is some nice timber and excellent water. In approaching near the Elkhorn, a glorious and grand scenery breaks upon the vision. The eye takes in, at a glance, the country ahead for some twenty miles, giving a full view of the Elkhorn and Platte rivers, with their winding courses, groves, bluffs, and valleys; at sundown the scenery is both grand and enchanting.

“The river being high, we met with no success in fishing, although there are fine fish in the stream. Our roast venison was eaten with a relish while seated on nature’s grassy carpet around the camp-fire. Here we found a number of Pawnee Indians, one of whom had a monster of a young black eagle which he had captured after having broken one of its wings. We had an excellent night’s rest, and at an early hour started homeward, snatching occasionally from their native beds a cluster of sweet flowers.”

Settlers are also passing into the fertile region between

the Nebraska and Kansas rivers, farther back from the valley of the Missouri.

The lower part of the valley of the Nebràska, with the uplands on either side, offer an attractive soil and climate. The name of this river, as has been said, signifies the Flat River. The French name La Platte designates its great width. It often seems almost lost in the broad bed of sand through which its various currents pass. It does not make any considerable falls in its long eastward course, and traders descend sometimes in canoes and batteaux from Fort Laramie to the Missouri river, — nearly the whole length of the southern line of Nebraska. This navigation, however, is intricate, and very tedious. The canoes or boats constantly get aground, and it seems to be regarded, even at the season of freshets, as a last resort in the way of transfer of goods from above.

These remarks only apply, however, to the very highest waters of the stream. The steamboat El Paso is said to have ascended the river last year, when the water was high, more than five hundred miles from its mouth, passing up the North Fork above Fort Laramie. In token of this triumph, she still "wears the horns;" for it is a custom on the western waters for a steamboat which has distinguished herself by any decided feat like this, to wear a pair of antlers, until some more successful boat surpasses her in the same enterprise by which she won them. The distance achieved by the El Paso is probably over-estimated.

At most seasons of the year the river is of little use for navigation.

For about two hundred and fifty miles west of the Missouri river, the prairie through which the Nebraska passes is very rich, and admirably adapted for cultivation. On the northern side it has been less explored than on the southern. On the southern side, the regular road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Kearney passes directly through it. The whole "divide" between the Kansas and Nebraska, for the distance named from the Missouri, is soil of loam mixed with gravel; "a delightful soil to till, and yielding heavy crops." The valleys are quite well supplied with timber. The want of timber for fencing, in any part of this prairie, is abundantly made good by the ease with which the Osage orange is cultivated. This is indigenous a little farther south, and the finest hedged farms are made from it with less expense, time, and labor, than the clearing and fencing of timberland requires under the most favorable circumstances. The country is well watered. In rainy weather the roads now followed become muddy and difficult of travel, but in this respect, says Major Cross, in his report, it does not differ from any of the prairies of the west. When the season is dry, the ground becomes very firm, and as there are no hills to impede travelling, there is no reason why the best public highways in the western country should not be laid out here.

So immense is the prairie country of Nebraska, of which

the "divide" now described forms the southern frontier, that cattle were driven across, from the valley of the Missouri to St. Peter's river in Minnesota, as long since as 1828, when there was not a road in the whole country. The traders often prefer crossing it with their goods to the more circuitous and tedious route by boat up the Missouri river.

The immediate valley of the Nebraska is a rich bottom soil. In 1842, Col. Fremont passed down on the left bank of the river without going inland. There was, even then, an excellent, plainly-beaten road there. He says that Grand Island, fifty-two miles long, with an average breadth of a mile and three-quarters, has on it some small eminences, and is sufficiently elevated to be secure from the annual floods of the river. It is well timbered, with an excellent soil. From the junction of the North and South Forks he found the Nebraska occupied with numerous islands, many of them large and all well timbered, possessing, as well as the bottom lands of the river, a very excellent soil. With the exception of some scattered groves on the banks, the bottoms are generally without timber. A portion of these consist of low grounds, covered with a profusion of fine grasses, and are probably inundated in the spring; the remainder is high river prairie, entirely beyond the influence of the floods. The breadth of the river is usually three-quarters of a mile, except where it is enlarged by islands.

None of the recent exploring expeditions of the government have passed through the prairie country north of the



Nebraska within the fertile belt of the first two hundred miles from Missouri. In 1820, however, Capt. Long passed from Council Bluffs across to Grand Island with a party of men. The prairie on that side appears to resemble that on the southern side in the richness of the soil, and there is, apparently, even less timber. Rev. Mr. Parker, who crossed it in 1835, thus describes it:—

“For about twenty-five miles since we crossed the Elkhorn, and between this river and the Platte, which are about ten miles apart, there is not a single hill. It is rich bottom land, covered with a luxuriant growth of grass. No country could be more inviting to the farmer, with only one exception—the want of woodland. The latitude is sufficiently high to be healthy; and, as the climate grows warmer as we travel west, until we approach the snow-topped mountains, there is a degree of mildness not experienced east of the Alleghany Mountains. The time will come, and probably is not far distant, when this country will be covered with a dense population. \* \* \* Then this amazing extent of most fertile land will not continue to be the wandering ground of a few thousand Indians, with only a *very few* acres under cultivation; nor will millions of tons of grass grow up to rot upon the ground, or to be burned up with the fire enkindled to sweep over the prairie, to disencumber it of its spontaneous burden. The herds of buffalo that once fattened upon these meadows are gone, and the deer that once cropped the grass have disappeared, and the antelopes have fled

away, and shall solitude reign here till the end of time? No; here shall be heard the din of business, and the church-going bell shall sound far and wide."

Freestone and limestone boulders of large size are found on the "divide" between the Kansas and Nebraska. In the bluffs of the Missouri, brick clay is found, and there seems no lack of stone for building purposes. The supply of pine lumber will be at first from the waters of the James and Sioux rivers on the Upper Missouri. It may prove, however, that in high water pine lumber can be obtained from the upper waters of the Platte. From a private letter from one of the explorers of that region, it appears that there are pines and firs of considerable size on the Black Mountains west of Fort Laramie. In some of the valleys and gorges there is a thick growth of tall and slender spruces. Pines of good size are sometimes found in the adjacent prairies, growing in small groups or singly. As one travels southward from Fort Laramie to the Arkansas, the hills to the westward are seen often densely wooded with firs and pines, though in other places quite bare. If it proves possible to run this timber down the waters of the upper streams in the freshets, it will be a material assistance to the prairie country.

The fertile region thus described nowhere extends more than two hundred and fifty miles west from the Missouri. A more inhospitable country then begins, on both sides of the Nebraska, which affords pasturage for buffalo and for

cattle, but little more which tempts the farmer. It is for a great distance unbroken by hills. For eighty-five miles west of Fort Kearney the road to Fort Laramie is wholly level. A gentle rolling country then begins. It is upon these sandy plains that the buffalo are now first found by westward emigrants.

Fort Laramie is three hundred and twenty-seven miles west of Fort Kearney by the travelled route, and six hundred and thirty-nine miles from Fort Leavenworth. It is situated on Laramie's Creek, a rapid stream, about sixty yards wide, with a firm pebbly bottom. This stream rises in the Black Hills to the west, and falls into the north branch of the Nebraska, about half a mile below the fort. There is good grazing on the creek, and pine and cedar wood for the purposes of the fort are procured from the hills on the north of the river, at a distance of about eight miles.

Westward of Fort Laramie the country is more broken and hilly. The spurs of the Rocky Mountains are covered with pine forests. The plains beneath are sometimes broken into more uneven surfaces, so as to render travelling more difficult. Thus the route up the North Platte to the Great South Pass, the route followed by all Oregon emigrants and by most of the California parties, is more severe beyond Fort Laramie than to the west of it. The route followed by the track of the emigrants shows specimens of coal for forty miles. Major Cross has no doubt, from his observations

there,\* that, from Deer Creek to Sweet Water river, the country abounds in it. It is found on the left bank of the river at the Mormon ferry, and up to the valley of the Sweet Water the hills bear every sign of it. He expresses the opinion that the coal region continues entirely across to the Wind River Mountains, and says it evidently exists in great quantities. His specimens were of a very fair quality.

Col. Fremont says, of the same region, "In the precipitous bluffs were displayed a succession of strata, containing fossil vegetable remains and several beds of coal. In some of the beds the coal did not appear to be perfectly mineralized; and in some of the seams it was compact and remarkably lustrous." For several days he notes the appearance of coal.

South of Fort Laramie, a trail, crossing the head waters of the Platte and the various forks of the Kansas, leads to the Pueblo, on the Arkansas, and to Bent's Fort. This trail opens to observation a country mostly barren, like the plains below, sometimes broken by the spurs of the Rocky Mountains, and occasionally showing, by the infrequent water-courses, fresh and green meadows.

The view which we have now taken of the great valleys of the Missouri, Yellowstone and Nebraska rivers, of their tributaries, and of the ranges between them, covers the whole territory established under the recent act as the territory of NEBRASKA. Of this vast region, which is from

\* In his report to government of 1850.

north to south six hundred and thirty miles, and almost the same general width from east to west, the south-eastern portion will be that which will first attract the attention of settlers. The "divide" between the Kansas river and the Nebraska is one of the most promising regions now thrown open to settlers. The boundary line, which is the parallel of  $40^{\circ}$ , leaves the larger part of this "divide" in the NEBRASKA territory. The lower part of the immediate valley of the Nebraska may offer some attractions to settlers, and the adjacent parts of the Missouri valley are, undoubtedly, highly attractive. It is there that the small reservation is made for the Iowa Indians, which has been described in the last chapter.

The northern parts of the territory will remain, for some time to come, principally in the hands of the fur traders. From the Upper Missouri, were sent, last year, buffalo robes to the number of one hundred thousand, and the value of three hundred thousand dollars, and other peltry, worth fifty thousand dollars. But, as we have seen, there are attractions, all the way up that river, which will every year draw further and further north, first the more lonely settler, and then companies of emigrants to follow up his discoveries. The northern route for emigrants to Oregon will probably gain more favor than it has done,—so great is the advantage of a steamboat navigation, even of three times the length of the land trail, to the very foot of the Rocky Mountains. Lumber, coal, and other natural re-

sources of the northern parts of the territory, will also be inducements, not to explorers only, but to settlers. The success of the native tribes in the cultivation of the soil, even as far north as the parallel of  $48^{\circ}$ , shows that the climate is not unfavorable to agriculture.

We proceed to speak, in similar detail, of the different parts of the southern territory, KANZAS.

## CHAPTER IV.

### KANZAS.

Rivers — Valleys — Soil and face of the country.

THE territory of KANZAS is bounded on the north by NEBRASKA, on the east by Missouri, on the south, in part, by the line of  $37^{\circ}$ , which divides it from the Cherokee country, and, in part, by New Mexico; and on the west by the highest ridge of the Rocky Mountains. It is a strip of land, about two hundred and eight miles in width, running back from Missouri to the mountains. Its principal water courses flow eastward, from the Rocky Mountains toward the Mississippi, to which they all run. The Kansas river and its branches, and the Upper Arkansas with its branches, are the principal streams. In the eastern parts are some small streams which flow directly into the Missouri, or into the Osage river, one of its tributaries.

The general aspect of the different divisions of this territory are thus described in a letter from the writer already quoted.

“The face of the country is nearly uniform from the state line to the base of the mountains. It is one continued succession of gently undulating ridges and valleys. The ridges are not uniformly north and south, or east and west; their general inclination is north and south, but they are thrown into various other directions by the course of the streams and the conformations of their valleys. Within the mountain chain there is to be found every variety of aspect peculiar to mountain districts. The first district of country, travelling westward from any point on the Missouri border, is marked by all the characteristics of the soil inside of that border. This district stretches from the northern to the southern boundary, and varies in width from eighty to one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles. It includes the sources of the Neosho, the Verdegris, the Marais des Cygnes, and other tributaries of the Osage, and the lower section of the Kansas river. It is unrivalled for the fertility of its soil, the value of its timber and forest trees, the amenity and beauty of its broad prairies, the number of its crystal streams, and the salubrity of its climate. It is rather more scant of timber than is the country in the same range in Missouri, but it is identical and equal in soils and productions, and superior in purity and vitality of atmosphere. This fertile district does not *gradually* deteriorate as we progress westward to the second district, but ceases *suddenly*. Travelling from Independence westward, its boundary is Sandy Creek, a tributary of



the Kansas, and travelling on the Santa Fé trail, it is bounded by Council Grove. Within a belt of one hundred yards in width, from the northern to the southern boundary of the territory, the observer will find two distinct soils, marking the first and second districts. The hundred yard belt is not a right line from north to south, but is serpentine, and with a general direction north and south.

“The second district presents to the eye a surface apparently of sand, but it must be impregnated largely with nutritive properties, for it is covered with grasses and rushes. In the valleys and hollows, where the soil is moist, the grass is abundant during the whole season; but upon the ridges it becomes stunted in June and July, and dry enough to burn after the middle of September. This district is essentially a pastoral region. There is no timber upon it, and not trees enough to serve as fire-wood for any great length of time. The only trees to be found at all are in the valley of the Kansas, and they are chiefly cottonwood and willow. It is wholly unfit for agricultural purposes, and must remain so forever. Its geological structure is a sufficient indication of this fact. This district, from Sandy Creek, extends westward to a north and south line a few miles east of Fort Laramie,—say about three hundred and fifty miles.

“The third district is a formation of marl and earthy limestone, and is a continuation southward of a similar district described in my former letter as existing in Nebraska.

It is in this district that what are termed *buttes* most frequently occur. These *buttes* are elevations varying in width from a hundred feet to several hundred yards. They are not knolls or hills. Their surfaces are flat, and their sides are nearly perpendicular. They can be likened to nothing but the trap-doors on the stages of theatres when elevated above the floors. It seems as if the general surface had suddenly sunk down, leaving them scattered all over the plains. I have never heard a plausible guess made touching the causes of their existence, and imagine that geologists will be much troubled to account for them. It is of this formation that what are called by the traders, in consequence of a fancied resemblance to these objects, the Court-House, the Cathedral, and the Chimneys — noted objects on the road to Oregon and California — are made. This is, however, only a narrow, irregular belt, and is succeeded by a fourth district, intervening between it and the Black Hills. It is very fertile, and admirably adapted to grain and vegetables. It is wholly destitute of timber.

“The fourth district is somewhat similar to the first, at least along the base of the Black Hills, where it has been enriched for ages by the *debris*. There is more wood upon it than in the last named, because the small affluents of the great streams are more numerous along the base of the Black Hills than anywhere else. The eastern portion of it is pastoral, like the second district; but the western portion, skirting the hills, consists of a broad bank of fertile

soil, finely timbered and watered, and abounding in game, wild fruits and flowers. It is one of the most lovely and desirable regions upon the continent.

“The fifth district is the space between the Black Hills and the main chain of the Rocky Mountains. Here nature has presented us with every variety of aspect and soil. There are stupendous mountains, the grandeur and sublimity of which create mingled emotions of awe and terror. There are beautiful valleys, embosomed by amphitheatres of hills, where Calypso and her nymphs might have delighted to ramble, variegated by hill and dale, traversed by sparkling rivulets, and adorned with placid lakes. Fruits and flowers spangle the greensward; vines hang in festoons from tree to tree; cascades spring in rainbow hues from the cliffs; pines and cedars, the growth of ages, spread their sombre shade upon the mountain-sides, and the stupendous peaks, shooting up into the skies, are crowned with a glittering coronet of snow. A few hours’ travel leads us out of this scene of primeval beauty into one in intense contrast with it. Here we find a sterile expanse of many miles in extent, covered with waving lines of sand, producing only stunted artemisia and a few other miserable plants; the rivulets are lost as they descend from the bare ridges around—their hollow murmurs may be heard beneath the feet; and the surrounding peaks are immense piles of bare granite, which seem to have been thrown, by some great convulsion, into inextricable confusion. Small settlements

will, in the progress of time, be made in the rich valleys, and they will be happy little communities.

“The Republican and the Smoky Hill Forks take their rise in the Rocky Mountains, and unite to form the Kansas river in about latitude  $39^{\circ}$  and longitude  $96^{\circ}$ . It flows thence in a general course eastward, to its mouth, in latitude  $39^{\circ}$  and longitude  $94^{\circ}$ . The upper portions of its two great forks are timbered with poplar, cedar, pine and other trees of mountain origin; thence to the eastern line of the first district I have described, the growth is cotton-wood, willow and other smaller shrubs; and across the first district to the Missouri line, the growth is hickory, ash, walnut, oak and sugar-maple. The valley of the Kansas is not over twenty to forty miles broad in the first district; it becomes narrower as the stream is ascended. It is a deep alluvion, and wonderfully productive in grain and vegetables.

“The tributaries of the Kansas are not numerous, and their valleys are narrow. The only portions which can be occupied now for agricultural purposes are the first district and the valley of the Kansas. Flocks and herds must forever occupy the second district. The third will be also pastoral, until the means of supplying it with fuel can be created. The fourth will be, in the course of time, partly agricultural and partly pastoral, and the like may be said of the fifth.

“The first district has a limestone basis; the second is underlaid by sandstone; the basis of the third is not known,

nor is that of the fourth and fifth determined with any reliable accuracy. The great coal-fields of Missouri, south of the Missouri, extend thirty or forty miles into Kansas. I incline to the belief that detached or fragmentary coal will be found in much abundance in the north-eastern corner of the territory. In the fourth and fifth districts there is doubtless an abundance of it, besides water-power superior to any in the world."

Of the geological character of the north-eastern part of Kansas, and the neighboring section of Nebraska, Prof. James writes :

"The country between the Kansas and Platte is drained principally by Wolf river and the great Nemaha. These rivers, like the Nodowa and Nishnebottona, which enter the Missouri nearly opposite them, from the north-east, rise in the prairies, at an elevation, probably, of forty or fifty feet above the level of the Missouri. As they descend, their valleys, becoming gradually wider, embosom a few trees, and at length, near their entrance into the Missouri valley, are forests of considerable extent. The surface of these prairies presents a constant succession of small rounded hills, becoming larger and more abrupt as you approach the beds of the rivers. The soil is deep, reposing usually on horizontal beds of argillaceous sandstone and secondary limestone. In all the limestones along the Missouri, we observe a tendency to crystalline structure, and they have often a reddish or yellowish-white color. There is, however, something in the

arrangement and in the aspect of the crystals to distinguish these sparry varieties from the primitive granular limestone, to which they have something of general resemblance. The horizontal disposition of the strata of this limestone, the great number of organic relics contained in it, and its intimate connection with coal strata, indicate, with sufficient clearness, its relation to the secondary rocks. No person who shall examine this stratum with the least attention, either about the Nemaha or the Kansas, or in the mining district at the sources of the Gasconade, the Meramec and the St. Francis, will, for a moment, mistake it for any of those varieties of transition or primitive limestone, which, in some respects, it so closely resembles. The crystalline varieties, no less than the compact blue limestones, embrace numerous masses of chert or hornstone. This occurs of various colors, and these are arranged in spots or stripes. Some specimens have several distinct colors, arranged in zigzag lines, somewhat resembling the fortification agate. The hunters use fragments of this stone for gun-flints; the savages also formerly employed it in the manufacture of arrow-points and other implements.\*

“The soil superimposed upon these strata of limestone is a calcareous loam. Near the rivers it is intermixed with sand; this is also the case with the soil of the high prairies about the Kansas village. In ascending the Kansas river,

\* Jessup's MS. Report.

one hundred or one hundred and twenty miles from the Missouri, you discover numerous indications, both in the soil and in its animal and vegetable productions, of an approach to that great sandy desert, which stretches eastward from the base of the Rocky Mountains. You meet there with the orbicular lizard or 'horned frog,' an inhabitant of the arid plains of New Mexico. You distinguish, also, some cacti, as well as many of those plants allied to *cheropodium* and *salsola*, which delight in a thirsty, muriatiferous soil. The catalogue of the forest-trees belonging to the valleys of this region is not very copious. The cotton-wood and the plane-tree everywhere form conspicuous features of the forests. With these are intermixed the tall and graceful *acacia*, the honey-locust and the bonduc or coffee-tree, and several species of *juglans*, *carya* and *fraxinus* (walnut, hickory and ash), with pinnated or many-parted leaves. Trees of the family of the *coniferæ* are not of frequent occurrence on the Missouri. About the summits of rocky cliffs are, here and there, a few cedars or junipers, the only trees that retain their verdure during the winter.

"The prairies, for many miles on each side of the Missouri, produce abundance of good pasturage; but, as far as our observation has extended, the best soil is a margin of from ten to twelve miles in breadth, along the west bank of the river. In the summer very little water is to be found in the prairies, all the smaller streams failing, even though the season be not unusually dry. On account of the want

of wood and of water, the settlements will be, for a long time, confined to the immediate valleys of the Missouri, the Kansas, and the larger rivers; but it is probable forests will hereafter be cultivated in those vast woodless regions, which now form so great a proportion of the country, and wells may be made to supply the deficiency of running water." \*

In describing the southern part of the territory of Nebraska, we have already spoken of the fertile "divide" between the waters of the Kansas and those of the Nebraska river. The following notes from Col. Fremont's journey of 1842 will describe that portion of it which falls in Kansas. Col. Fremont followed up the valley of the Kansas, about a hundred miles, and then crossed to the usual emigrant trail in the valley of the Nebraska river.

"From the belt of wood which borders the Kansas, in which we had passed several good-looking Indian farms, we suddenly emerged on the prairies, which received us, at the outset, with some of their striking characteristics. We encamped in a remarkably beautiful situation on the Kansas bluffs, which commanded a fine view of the river-valley, here from three to four miles wide. The central portion was occupied by a broad belt of heavy timber, and nearer the hills the prairies were of the richest verdure.

"We reached the ford of the Kansas late in the after-

\* Long's Expedition, vol. I., pp. 137—139.



noon of June 14th, where the river was two hundred and thirty yards wide, and commenced immediate preparations for crossing. I had expected to find the river fordable, but it had been swollen by the late rains, and was sweeping by with an angry current, yellow and turbid as the Missouri. Up to this point the road we had travelled was a remarkably fine one, well beaten and level, the usual road of a prairie country. By our route the ford was one hundred miles from the mouth of the Kansas river.

"It proved necessary, however, to swim the river, and to carry the stores across by a boat.

"The dense timber, in which we had encamped, interfered with astronomical observations, and our wet and damaged stores required exposure to the sun. Accordingly the tents were struck the next morning, and, leaving camp at six o'clock, we moved about seven miles up the river, to a handsome, open prairie, some twenty feet above the water, where the fine grass afforded a luxurious repast to our horses.

"We left this camp on the 18th, journeying along the foot of the hills which border the Kansas valley, generally about three miles wide, and extremely rich. We halted for dinner, after a march of about thirteen miles, on the banks of one of the many little tributaries to the Kansas, which look like trenches in the prairie, and are usually well timbered. After crossing this stream, I rode off some miles to the left, attracted by the appearance of a cluster of huts,

near the mouth of the Vermilion. It was a large but deserted Kansas village, scattered in an open wood, along the margin of the stream, on a spot chosen with the customary Indian fondness for beauty of scenery.

“The next morning, quitting the run bottom, the road ran along the uplands, over a rolling country, generally in view of the Kansas, from eight to twelve miles distant. Many large boulders, of very compact sandstones, of various shades of red, some of them four or five tons in weight, were scattered along the hills, and many beautiful plants in flower enlivened the green of the prairie. We pitched our tents, at evening, on the head waters of a small creek, now nearly dry, but having in its bed several fine springs. The barometer indicated a considerable rise in the country, here about fourteen hundred feet above the sea, and the increased elevation appeared already to have some slight influence upon the vegetation.

“The next morning was fine. The country to-day was rather more broken, rising still, and covered everywhere with fragments of silicious limestone, particularly on the summits, where they were small, and thickly strewn as pebbles on the shore of the sea. In these exposed situations grew but few plants; though, wherever the soil was good and protected from the winds, in the creek bottoms and ravines, and on the slopes, they flourished abundantly. We crossed, at ten A. M., the Big Vermilion, which has a rich bottom of about one mile in breadth, one-third of which is

occupied by timber." The next day "in the afternoon the people seemed to suffer for want of water. The road led along a high, dry ridge; dark lines of timber indicated the heads of streams in the plains below; but there was no water near, and the day was very oppressive. Along our route the *amorpha canescens* has been in very abundant but variable bloom, in some places bending beneath the weight of purple clusters, in others without a flower. It seems to love best the sunny slopes, with a dark soil and southern exposure. Everywhere the rose is met with, and reminds us of cultivated gardens and civilization. It is scattered over the prairies in small bouquets, and, when glittering in the dews and waving in the pleasant breeze of the early morning, is the most beautiful of the prairie flowers. The artemisia, abzinthe, or prairie sage, as it is variously called, is increasing in size, and glitters like silver as the southern breeze turns up its leaves to the sun. All these plants have their insect inhabitants, variously colored, generally taking the hue of the flower on which they live."

The party had by this time crossed the line of 40°, which is the northern line of Kansas. The notes which follow continue the narrative of the journey in Nebraska to the river of that name.

"Our mid-day halt was at Wyeth's Creek, in the bed of which were numerous boulders of dark, ferruginous sandstone, mingled with others of the red sandstone already mentioned. At the close of the day we made our bivouac in

some well timbered ravines near the Little Blue. Crossing, the next morning, a number of handsome creeks with clear water and sandy beds, we reached, at ten A. M., a very beautiful wooded stream, about thirty-five feet wide, called Sandy Creek, and sometimes, as the Ottoes winter there, the Ottoe Fork. The country has become very sandy, and the plants less varied and abundant, with the exception of the *amorpha*, which rivals the grass in quantity.

“At the Big Trees, where we had intended to noon, no water was to be found. The bed of the little creek was perfectly dry, and on the adjacent sandy bottom *cacti*, for the first time, made their appearance. We made here a short delay in search of water, and, after a hard day's march of twenty-eight miles, encamped, at five o'clock, on the Little Blue, where our arrival made a scene of the Arabian desert. As fast as they arrived, men and horses rushed into the stream, where they bathed and drank together in common enjoyment. Our route the next morning lay up the valley, which, bordered by hills with graceful slopes, looked uncommonly green and beautiful. The stream was about fifty feet wide, and three or four deep, fringed by cotton-wood and willow, with frequent groves of oak tenanted by flocks of turkeys. Game here, too, made its appearance in greater plenty. Elk were frequently seen on the hills, and now and then an antelope bounded across our path, or a deer broke from the groves. The road, in the afternoon, was over the upper prairies, several miles from the river, and

we encamped, at sunset, on one of its small tributaries, where an abundance of *prêle* (*equisetum*) afforded fine forage to our tired animals.

“The road of the next day kept the valley, which is sometimes rich and well timbered, though the country is generally sandy.”

It will be understood that in this journey Col. Fremont was passing constantly westward, and was thus approaching the wide sandy plains which make the second division of the country to one travelling in that direction. The next day he crossed the high prairie ridge, destitute of water, between the Blue and Nebraska rivers, and came to the head of Grand Island, near where Fort Kearney is now located.

In his expedition of the next year, Col. Fremont passed up the valley of the Republican Fork, and the notes of his journey, therefore, describe yet another region of Kansas, passing from the fertile section through the sandy plains to the mountains.

“Leaving at the ford the usual emigrant road to the mountains, we continued our route along the southern side of the Kansas, where we found the country much more broken than on the northern side of the river, and where our progress was much delayed by the numerous small streams, which obliged us to make frequent bridges. On the morning of the 4th we crossed a handsome stream, called by the Indians Otter Creek, about one hundred and thirty feet wide, where a flat stratum of limestone, which

forms the bed, made an excellent ford. We met here a small party of Kansas and Delaware Indians, the latter returning from a hunting and trapping expedition on the upper waters of the river; and, on the heights above, were five or six Kansas women engaged in digging prairie potatoes (*psoralea esculenta*).

“We arrived, on July 8th, at the mouth of the Smoky Hill Fork, which is the principal southern branch of the Kansas, forming here with the Republican or northern branch the main Kansas river. For several days we continued to travel along the Republican, through a country beautifully watered with numerous streams, handsomely timbered; and rarely an incident occurred to vary the monotonous resemblance which one day on the prairies here bears to another, and which scarcely require a particular description. Now and then we caught a glimpse of a small herd of elk; and occasionally a band of antelopes, whose curiosity sometimes brought them within rifle range, would circle round us, and then scour off into the prairies.

“The bottoms which form the immediate valley of the main river were generally about three miles wide, having a rich soil of black vegetable mould, and, for a prairie country, well interspersed with wood. The country was everywhere covered with a considerable variety of grasses, occasionally poor and thin, but far more frequently luxuriant and rich. We had been gradually and regularly ascending in our progress westward, and, on the evening of the 14th,

when we encamped on a little creek in the valley of the Republican, two hundred and sixty-five miles by our travelling road from the mouth of the Kansas, we were at an elevation of one thousand five hundred and twenty feet.

“On the morning of the 16th, bearing a little out from the river, with a view of heading some of the numerous affluents, after a few hours' travel, over somewhat broken ground, we entered upon an extensive and high level prairie, on which we encamped towards evening at a little stream, where a single dry cotton-wood afforded the necessary fuel for preparing supper.

“The country afforded us an excellent road, the route being generally over high and very level prairies, and we met with no other delay than being frequently obliged to bridge one of the numerous streams, which were well timbered with ash, elm, cotton-wood and a very large oak, the latter being occasionally five or six feet in diameter, with a spreading summit. *Sida coccinea* is very frequent in vermilion-colored patches on the high and low prairie, and I remarked that it has a very pleasant perfume. The wild sensitive-plant (*schrankia angustata*) occurs frequently, generally on the dry prairies, in valleys of streams, and frequently on the broken prairie bank. I remark that the leaflets close instantly to a very light touch. *Amorpha*, with the same *psoralea*, and a dwarf species of *lupinus*, are the characteristic plants.

“June 21. During the forenoon we travelled up a branch

of the creek on which we had encamped, in a broken country, where, however, the dividing ridges always afforded a good road. Plants were few; and with the short swards of the buffalo grass, which now prevailed everywhere, giving to the prairies a smooth and mossy appearance, were mingled frequent patches of a beautiful red grass (*aristida pallens*), which has made its appearance only within the last few days. We halted to noon at a solitary cottonwood in a hollow, near which was killed the first buffalo, a fine bull.

"At noon, on the 23d, we descended into the valley of a principal fork of the Republican, a beautiful stream, with a dense border of wood, consisting principally of varieties of ash, forty feet wide and four feet deep. It was musical with the notes of many birds, which from the vast expanse of silent prairie around seemed all to have collected here. We continued, during the afternoon, our route along the river, which was populous with prairie-dogs (the bottoms being entirely occupied with their villages), and late in the evening encamped on its banks. The prevailing timber is a blue-foliaged ash (*fraxinus*, near *F. Americana*) and ash-leaved maple. With these were *Fraxinus Americana*, cotton-wood, and long-leaved willow.

"A few miles further we entered the valley of a large stream, afterwards known to be the Republican Fork of the Kansas, whose shallow waters, with a depth of only a few inches, were spread out over a bed of yellowish-white sand



six hundred yards wide. With the exception of one or two distant and detached groves, no timber of any kind was to be seen. Our encampment this evening was three thousand five hundred feet above the sea. We travelled now for several days through a broken and dry sandy region, about four thousand feet above the sea, where there were no running streams, and water only to be found in small lakes that occurred occasionally among the hills."

By this expedition Mr. Fremont arrived at St. Vrain's Fort. Soon afterwards he travelled south.

Along the eastern spurs of the mountains, as we have already said, a trail passes through the country southward to the upper waters of the Arkansas. These streams water the southern part of the territory. Mr. Parkman describes this journey, singularly varied by mountain spurs, fertile "bottoms" watered by small streams, and by sandy "divides."

Mr. Fremont, by a trail of his own, had passed through the same region. In this journey he followed up the south fork of the Nebraska.

"*July 8.* On the easternmost branch, up which we took our way, we first came among the pines, growing on the top of a very high bank; and where we halted on it to noon, quaking asp (*populus tremuloides*) was mixed with the cotton-wood, and there were excellent grass and rushes for the animals.

"*July 9.* We turned to the eastward along the upper waters of the stream on which we had encamped, entering

a country of picturesque and varied scenery; broken into rocky hills of singular shapes; little valleys, with pure crystal water, here leaping swiftly along, and there losing itself in the sands; green spots of luxuriant grass; flowers of all colors, and timber of different kinds: everything to give it a varied beauty, except game. To one of these remarkably shaped hills, having on the summit a circular flat rock two or three hundred yards in circumference, some one gave the name of Pound-cake, which it has been permitted to retain, as our hungry people seemed to think it a very agreeable companion."

The next day, "leaving the encampment at six o'clock, we continued our easterly course over a rolling country near to the high ridges, which are generally rough and rocky, with a coarse conglomerate displayed in masses, and covered with pines. This rock is very friable; and it is undoubtedly from its decomposition that the prairies derive their sandy and gravelly formation. During the morning, our route led over a dark vegetable mould, mixed with sand and gravel, the characteristic plant being *esparcette* (*onobrychis sativa*), a species of clover, which is much used in certain parts of Germany for pasturage of stock, principally hogs. It is sown on rocky waste ground, which would otherwise be useless, and grows very luxuriously, requiring only a renewal of the seed about once in fifteen years. Its abundance here greatly adds to the pastoral value of this region. A species of artemisia, in flower, was very com-

mon along the line of road, and the creeks were timbered with willow and pine.

“*July 11.* I turned this morning to the southward, up the valley of Bijou. *Esparcette* occurred universally; and among the plants on the river I noticed a few small bushes of the absinthe of the voyageurs, which is commonly used for firewood (the *artemisia tridentata* spoken of above).

“Yesterday and to-day the road has been ornamented with the showy bloom of a mountain *lupinus*, a characteristic in many parts of the mountain region, on which were generally great numbers of an insect with very bright colors.

“We followed the stream to its head in a broken ridge, which, according to the barometer, was about seven thousand five hundred feet above the sea. This is a piny elevation, into which the prairies are gathered, and from which the waters flow, in almost every direction, to the Arkansas, Platte (or Nebraska), and Kansas rivers; the latter stream having here its remotest sources. Although somewhat rocky and broken, and covered with pines, in comparison with the neighboring mountains it scarcely forms an interruption to the great prairie plains which sweep up to their bases.

“These plains sweep almost directly to the bases of the mountain barrier, an immense and comparatively smooth and grassy prairie, in very strong contrast with the black

masses of timber and the glittering snow above them. With occasional exceptions, comparatively so small as not to require mention, these prairies are everywhere covered with a close and vigorous growth of a great variety of grasses, among which the most abundant is the buffalo grass (*seeleria dactyloides*). Between the Nebraska and Arkansas rivers, that part of this region which forms the basin drained by the waters of the Kansas, with which our operations made us more particularly acquainted, is based upon a formation of calcareous rocks. The soil of all this country is excellent, admirably adapted to agricultural purposes, and would support a large agricultural and pastoral population. A glance at the map shows that this plain is watered by many streams. Throughout the western half of the plain these are shallow, with sandy beds, becoming deeper as they reach the richer lands approaching the Missouri river. They generally have bottom-lands, bordered by bluffs varying from fifty to five hundred feet in height. In all this region the timber is entirely confined to the streams. In the eastern half, where the soil is a deep, rich vegetable mould, retentive of rain and moisture, it is of vigorous growth, and of many different kinds; and throughout the western half it consists entirely of various species of cottonwood, which deserves to be called the tree of the desert, — growing in sandy soils where no other tree will grow; pointing out the existence of water, and furnishing to the traveller fuel and food for his animals.

“Turning the next day to the south-west, we reached the wagon-road to the settlements on the Arkansas river; an extremely good lodge-trail which issues by the head of the *Fontaine qui bouille*, from the bayou Salade (South Park), a high mountain-valley behind Pike’s Peak. The soil along the road was sandy and gravelly, and the river well timbered.”

The next day brought the party to the Pueblo on the Arkansas river. Here a number of mountaineers, who have married Spanish women in the valley of Taos, have occupied themselves in farming and trading with the Indians. All travellers on the Santa Fé road visit the Pueblo. Mr. Parkman describes the first view of it as a welcome sight. “The Arkansas ran along the valley below, among woods and groves, and closely nestled in the midst of wide cornfields and green meadows, where cattle were grazing, rose the low mud-walls of the Pueblo.” There was at that time a Mormon settlement in progress on the south side of the river.

In a subsequent expedition Mr. Frémont passed from the Nebraska to the Arkansas by a course directly through the mountains, crossing the ridge, in fact, three times. He thus visited the *New Park*, the *Old Park*, and the *South Park*, — curious birth-places of rivers. The New or North Park will fall within the limits of Nebraska; the South Park, within Kansas.

“We changed our course, and turned up the valley of the Platte (Nebraska), instead of going down it. We

crossed several small affluents, and again made a fortified camp in a grove. The country had now become very beautiful, rich in water, grass, and game; and to these were added the charm of scenery and pleasant weather.

"*June 14.* Our route lay along the foot of the mountain, over the long, low spurs which sloped gradually down to the river, forming the broad valley of the Platte. The country beautifully watered. In almost every hollow ran a clear, cool mountain stream; and, in the course of the morning, we crossed seventeen, several of them being large creeks, forty and fifty feet wide, with a swift current, and tolerably deep. These were variously wooded with groves of aspen and cotton-wood, with willow, cherry, and other scrubby trees. Buffalo, antelope, and elk, were frequent during the day, and in their abundance the latter sometimes reminded us slightly of the Sacramento valley. The next day we continued our journey up the valley, the country presenting much the same appearance, except that the grass was more scanty on the ridges, over which was spread a scrubby growth of sage; but still the bottoms of the creeks were broad, and afforded good pasture ground. Our course in the afternoon brought us to the main Platte river (Nebraska), here a handsome stream, with a uniform breadth of seventy yards, except where widened by frequent islands. It was apparently deep, with a moderate current, and wooded with groves of large willow.

"The valley narrowed as we ascended, and presently

degenerated into a gorge, through which the river passed as through a gate. We entered it, and found ourselves in the 'New Park,' a beautiful, circular valley of thirty miles' diameter, walled in all round with snowy mountains, rich with water and with grass, fringed with pine on the mountain sides below the line, — and a paradise to all grazing animals. The Indian name for it signifies 'cow lodge,' of which our own may be considered a translation; the enclosure, the grass, the water, and the herds of buffalo roaming over it, naturally presenting the idea of a park. Its elevation above the sea is seven thousand seven hundred and twenty feet. From this elevated cove, and from the gorges of the surrounding mountains, and some lakes within their bosoms, the great Platte (Nebraska) river collects its first waters and assumes its first form; and certainly no river could ask a more beautiful origin. The 16th and 17th we continued through the park, and fell into a broad and excellent trail made by buffalo, where a wagon would pass with ease. In the course of the 17th we crossed the summit of the Rocky Mountains, through a pass, which was one of the most beautiful we had ever seen. The trail led us among the aspens, through open grounds, richly covered with grass, and carried us over an elevation of about nine thousand feet above the level of the sea. Descending from the pass, we found ourselves again on the western waters, and halted to noon on the edge of another mountain-valley called the Old Park, in which is formed Grand river, one of the

principal branches of the Colorado of California. The appearance of the country in the Old Park is interesting, though of a different character from the New; instead of being a comparative plain, it is more or less broken into hills, and surrounded by the high mountains, timbered on the lower parts with quaking asp and pines."

In another part of his expedition Lieut. Fremont attempted to cross from St. Vrain's to the South Pass by a new route. His journal of this will give some further idea of the mountain scenery and vegetation.

He was following along the Cache à la Poudre river, a stream which flows northwards from the high mountains around Long's Peak.

"*July 29.* We were compelled, by the nature of the ground, to cross the river eight or nine times, at difficult, deep and rocky fords,—the stream running with great force, swollen by the rains,—a true mountain torrent, only forty or fifty feet wide. Towering mountains rose round about; their sides sometimes dark with forests of pine, and sometimes with lofty precipices, washed by the river; while below, as if they indemnified themselves in luxuriance for the scanty space, the green river-bottom was covered with a wilderness of flowers, their tall spikes sometimes rising above our heads as we rode among them. A profusion of blossoms on a white-flowering vine (*clematis lasianthi*), which was abundant along the river, contrasted handsomely with the green foliage of the trees. The mountain ap-



peared to be composed of a greenish-gray and red granite, which, in some places, appeared to be in a state of decomposition, making a red soil. The stream was wooded with cotton-wood, box-elder, and cherry, with currant and service-berry bushes. We halted at noon on a small branch; and in the afternoon travelled over a high country, gradually ascending towards a range of *buttes*, or high hills covered with pines, which forms the dividing ridge between the waters we had left and those of Laramie river.

“*July 31.* A fine rolling road, among piny and grassy hills, brought us this morning into a large trail where an Indian village had recently passed. The country was certainly extremely beautiful; the slopes and broad ravines were absolutely covered with fields of flowers of the most exquisitely beautiful colors. Among those which had not hitherto made their appearance, and which here were characteristic, was a new *delphinium* (larkspur), of a green and lustrous metallic-blue color, mingled with compact fields of several light colored varieties of *astragalus*, which were crowded together in splendid profusion. This trail conducted us through a remarkable defile to a little timbered creek, up which we wound our way, passing by a singular and massive wall of dark-red granite. The formation of the country is a red feldspathic granite, overlying a decomposing mass of the same rock, forming the soil of all this region, which is everywhere red and gravelly, and appears to be of a great floral fertility.

“*August 1.* We travelled, to-day, over a plain, or open rolling country, at the foot of the Medicine Bow Mountain; the soil in the morning being sandy, with fragments of rock abundant; and in the afternoon, when we approached closer to the mountain, so stony that we made but little way. The beautiful plants of yesterday reappeared occasionally; flax in bloom occurred during the morning, and esparcette in luxuriant abundance was a characteristic of the stony ground in the afternoon.

“The mountain is thickly studded with pines, intermingled with the brighter foliage of aspens, and occasional spots like lawns between the patches of snow among the pines, and here and there on the heights. Our route below lay over a comparative plain, covered with the same brilliant vegetation. During the morning we crossed many streams, clear and rocky, and broad grassy valleys, of a strong, black soil, washed down from the mountains, and producing excellent pasturage. These were timbered with the red willow and long-leaved cotton-wood, mingled with aspen, as we approached the mountain more nearly towards noon. *Esparcette* was a characteristic, and flax occurred frequently in bloom. We halted at noon on the most western fork of Laramie river, a handsome stream, about sixty feet wide and two feet deep, with clear water and a swift current, over a bed composed entirely of boulders or roll-stones. There was a large open bottom here, on which were many lodge-poles lying about; and in the edge of the

surrounding timber were three strong forts, that appeared to have been recently occupied. We encamped at evening on the principal fork of Medicine Bow river, near to an isolated mountain called the Medicine Butte, which appeared to be about one thousand eight hundred feet above the plain, from which it rises abruptly, and was still white, nearly to its base, with a great quantity of snow. The streams were timbered with the long-leaved cotton-wood and red willow; and during the afternoon a species of onion was very abundant."

It must be understood again, that here, as in another part of this route, Mr. Fremont was within the territorial limits of Nebraska. The nature of the country being quite the same at the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, whether just south or just north of the parallel of 40°, the boundary line between the territories, we prefer not to separate the descriptions of them.

After a reconnoissance of the head waters of Grand river, Lt. Fremont returned to the head waters of the Arkansas.

"Our elevation was ten thousand four hundred and thirty feet, but still the pine forest continued, and the grass was good. In the afternoon, of the 20th, we continued our road, occasionally through open pines, with a very gradual ascent. In a ride of about three-quarters of an hour, and having ascended, perhaps, eight hundred feet, we reached the SUMMIT OF THE DIVIDING RIDGE, which would thus have an estimated height of eleven thousand two hundred

feet. Here the river spreads itself into small branches and springs, heading nearly in the summit of the ridge, which is very narrow. Immediately below us was a green valley, through which ran a stream; and a short distance opposite rose snowy mountains, whose summits were formed into peaks of naked rock. We soon afterwards satisfied ourselves that immediately beyond those mountains was the main branch of the Arkansas river, most probably heading directly with the little stream below us, which gathered its waters in the snowy mountains near by. In about a quarter of an hour, we descended from the summit of the pass into the creek below, our road having been very much controlled and interrupted by the pines and springs on the mountain-side. Turning up the stream, we encamped on a bottom of good grass near its head, which gathers its waters in the dividing crest of the Rocky Mountains.

“On the following day, we descended the stream by an excellent buffalo-trail, along the open grassy bottom of the river. On our right, the bayou was bordered by a mountainous range, crested with rocky and naked peaks; and below, it had a beautiful park-like character of pretty level prairies, interspersed among low spurs, wooded openly with pine and quaking asp, contrasting well with the denser pines which swept around on the mountain-sides.

“The next day we left the river, which continued its course towards Pike’s Peak; and taking a south-easterly direction, in about ten miles we crossed a gentle ridge, and.

issuing from the South Park, found ourselves involved among the broken spurs of the mountains which border the great prairie plains. Although broken and extremely rugged, the country was very interesting, being well watered by numerous affluents to the Arkansas river, and covered with grass and a variety of trees. The streams, which in the upper part of their course ran through grassy and open hollows, after a few miles all descended into deep and impracticable cañons, through which they found their way to the Arkansas valley. During the day our road was fatiguing and difficult, reminding us much, by its steep and rocky character, of our travelling the year before, among the Wind River mountains; but always at night we found some grassy bottoms, which afforded us a pleasant camp. In the deep seclusion of these little streams we found always an abundant pasturage, and a wild luxuriance of plants and trees. Aspens and pines were the prevailing timber; on the creeks, oak was frequent, but the narrow-leaved cottonwood (*populus angustifolia*), of unusually large size, and seven or eight feet in circumference, was the principal tree. With these were mingled a variety of shrubby trees, which aided to make the ravines almost impenetrable. After several days' laborious travelling, we succeeded in extricating ourselves from the mountains, and, on the morning of the 28th, encamped immediately at their foot, on a handsome tributary to the Arkansas river. In the afternoon we descended the stream, winding our way along the bot-

toms, which were densely wooded with oak, and in the evening encamped near the main river."

We have been the more full in these descriptions of the Great Plains and of the broken country west of them, in which the South Fork of the Nebraska and the waters of the Kansas rise, because the frequent statement and general impression is that those plains are wholly desert and worthless. They do not vie, indeed, with the rich, invaluable agricultural country of eastern Kansas. It may be doubted whether any country in the world does. But the timber scattered among the hills, the richness of the pasturage in many parts, and the under-lying lime formation, are so many sources of comfort and wealth which will not permit this region to remain the desert which it now is.

The southern parts of Kansas lie in the upper valley of the Arkansas river. This stream has been so named, since its discovery by the French, from the Arkansas tribe, whom they found near its mouth. These Indians represented that they had then but lately separated from the Kansas Indians on the Kansas river. The lower part of the valley of the Arkansas is, as is well known, a rich and fertile country. That part of its valley, however, which lies in Kansas is not well wooded, and, though fertile farms have been established in the immediate vicinity of the river, it does not appear to be, in general, a promising agricultural region. In the neighborhood of the Pueblo tall woods line the river with green meadows on each side. The crops raised there are

abundant. At Bent's Fort there is but little timber. Timber sometimes appears in small sections; but, in general, for several hundred miles the river is most of the year a broad sand-bed, over which a few threads of water glide along, occasionally expanding into wide shallows. In the autumn, the water sometimes sinks into the sand and disappears altogether. At the "Big Timbers," about thirty-five miles below Bent's Fort, the river widens, and the banks on each side fall towards it in gentle slopes. The "timber" is a thinly-scattered growth of large cotton-woods, not more than three-quarters of a mile wide, and three or four miles long.

"The bed of the river," says Col. Emory, "is seldom more than one hundred and fifty yards wide, and, but for the quick-sands, is everywhere fordable. The bottom-land, a few feet above the level of the water, varies in width from half a mile to two miles, and is generally covered with good, nutritious grass. Beyond this the ground rises by gentle slopes into a wilderness of sand-hills on the south, and into prairie on the north. There are one or two exceptions; for instance, at the great bend, the sand-hills from the south impinge abruptly on the course of the river; at Pawnee rock, a long swell in the ground terminates in an abrupt hill of highly ferruginous sandstone; and ten miles above Chouteau's island the hills along the river are vertical, as if the river had cut a passage through them; and, as you approach Bent's Fort, the hills generally roll in more boldly on the river, and the bottoms become narrower, and the grass more precious.

“At these places the geological formation can be seen distinctly. On the lower part of the river it is a conglomerate of pebbles, sometimes shells cemented by lime and clay overlying a stratum of soft sandstone, which in turn overlies a blue shale, and sometimes the richest description of marl.

“Higher up the river we find the same formation, but in addition argillaceous limestone, containing ammonites and other impressions of shells in great variety, and in more than one instance distinct impressions of oyster shells. The dip in both cases about  $6^{\circ}$  and a little north of east.

“The soil of the plains is a granitic sand, intermixed with the exuviae of animals and vegetable matter, supporting a scanty vegetation. The eye wanders in vain over these immense wastes in search of trees. Not one is to be seen. The principal growth is the buffalo grass, cacti in endless variety, and very rarely that wonderful plant, the *Ipomea leptophylla*, called by the hunters man-root, from the similarity of its root in size and shape to the body of a man. It is esculent, and serves to sustain human life in some of the many vicissitudes of hunger and privation to which men who roam the prairies as an occupation are subjected.

“The narrow strip which I have described as the bottom-land of the Arkanzas, varying from half a mile to two or three miles wide, contains a luxuriant growth of grasses, which, by the judicious selection and distribution of the camps, sustained all the animals of the army of the west



whilst on the river. The only tree of any magnitude found on its course is the cotton-wood (*Populus Canadensis*), and it frequently happens that not one of these is seen in a whole day's journey, and the buffalo-dung and wild sage constitute the only fuel to be procured."

The droughts described render the Arkansas river a very uncertain reliance for communication. It is said, however, that a steamboat can ascend at full water within twenty-four miles of the Great Bend, — the point where the river gains its greatest northern latitude.

Having thus given a general account of the northern region of Kansas, the plains and mountains of the west, and the sandy valley of the Arkansas on its southern frontier, we may now speak, in more detail, of the eastern part of the territory; the basin of the Lower Kansas river, which will be the resort of settlers from all parts of the world, and offers indeed the most remarkable attractions.

For nearly two hundred miles west from Missouri, a rich vegetable soil, sufficiently wooded, is found through the whole of this valley. It is the region of which the eastern part has been principally occupied by the Shawnees, Delawares, and Pottawatomies, whose indolent farming, even, produces there the most remarkable results. The soil produces wheat, corn, or hemp in great abundance, and is, to all appearance, inexhaustible. Every variety of timber known in the western forests is found there in sufficient

quantity to answer the purposes of settlers. Ash, burr oak, black walnut, chestnut oak, black oak, long-leaved willow, sycamore, buck-eye American elm, pignut hickory, hackberry, and sumach are named by Col. Emory, whose botanical skill is well known. The general appearance of the country, he says, is that of vast rolling fields, enclosed with colossal hedges. It is not till you approach the meridian of  $99^{\circ}$  that the growth of exclusive cotton-wood begins.

Every letter and memoir written regarding this remarkable valley confirms the accounts of its surprising loveliness and fertility. The following sketch is by Mr. Parkman:—

“We were passing through the country of the half-civilized Shawnees. It was a beautiful alternation of fertile plains and groves, whose foliage was just tinged with the hues of autumn, while close beneath them rested the neat log-houses of the Indian farmers. Every field and meadow bespoke the exuberant fertility of the soil. The maize stood rustling in the wind, matured and dry, its shining yellow ears thrust out between the gaping husks. Squashes and enormous yellow pumpkins lay basking in the sun, in the midst of their brown and shrivelled leaves. Robins and blackbirds flew about the fences; and everything, in short, betokened our near approach to home and civilization. The forests that border on the Missouri soon rose before us, and we entered the wide tract of shrubbery that forms their outskirts. We had passed the same road on our outward journey in the spring, but its aspect was totally changed. The

young wild apple-trees, then flushed with their fragrant blossoms, were now hung thickly with ruddy fruit. Tall grass flourished by the road-side in place of the tender shoots just peeping from the warm and oozy soil. The vines were laden with dark purple grapes, and the slender twigs of the maple, then tasselled with their clusters of small red flowers, now hung out a gorgeous display of leaves stained by the frost with burning crimson. On every side we saw the tokens of maturity and decay where all had before been fresh and beautiful. We entered the forest, and ourselves and our horses were checkered as we passed along by the bright spots of sunlight that fell between the opening boughs. On either side the dark rich masses of foliage almost excluded the sun, though here and there its rays could find their way down, striking through the broad leaves, and lighting them with a pure transparent green. Squirrels barked at us from the trees; coveys of young partridges ran rustling over the leaves below, and the golden oriole, the blue-jay, and the flaming red-bird, darted among the shadowy branches."

A recent letter thus describes a journey up the valley and across the northern "divide."

"We landed at the mouth of the Kansas river, and travelled up it, on the south side, for a distance of one hundred and twenty miles. We then crossed over, and proceeded about seventy miles in a north-westerly course. Here we changed and went in a north-easterly direction until we struck the Missouri river. We had now travelled not far

from three hundred miles. Through all this section we found the soil excellent, consisting mainly of high rolling prairie;—indeed, it is as dark-colored and as rich as the soil in the Wabash valley. The water is of the best quality, and as good as could be desired. The streams have high banks, consisting, to a considerable extent, of limestone rock. We did not see the first stream which overflows its banks, though we crossed many which would furnish an indefinite amount of water-power. There were no stagnant pools to render the country unhealthy. The timber is similar to that in northern Illinois, consisting of burr oak, Spanish oak, shell-bark hickory, black walnut, linn, elm, etc. The timber is principally upon the creeks and margins of the rivers, and is found in considerable abundance, though, if there was more of it, it would be no objection to the country. I should like to remove there, and think it would be an object for me to do so, though I reside in a fertile region in Indiana.”

The Pottawatomies have occupied a reservation on the southern side of the Kansas. The following letter from Mr. Duerinck, the superintendent of the Catholic mission among them, shows what is the success of farming operations here:

“We have raised this season sixty acres oats, forty corn, six potatoes,—the oats very heavy; we cut them all in five days with a mowing machine. This implements the wonder of the country,—the Indians are lost in admiration

when they see it work. The corn and potatoes bid fair to yield a good crop. Our horned stock consist of two hundred and fifty head; say eighty cows, fifteen yoke of oxen, forty two-year old steers,—the balance is young cattle of our own raising. We derive no inconsiderable part of our support from our stock. There is also a good demand for corn, potatoes, oats, which the mission as well as the Indians can sell at fair prices. The government is establishing a new military post, Fort Riley, on the Upper Kansas, fifty-one miles above the mission; the Pottawatomie settlement is the nearest point from which the fort can draw its supplies. If our Indians were thrifty and enterprising, they would find a ready market for all the produce they can raise; but, unfortunately, the greater part of our people are glad when they have enough to supply their own wants. The Indians in our immediate vicinity are not in want; they have raised good crops of corn, potatoes, pumpkins, and beans, without giving themselves much pains to do it.”

Another letter, written on the 6th of July, 1854, by a gentleman who had passed up the valley of the Kansas. says:

“The best portion of the land in the Kansas valley is held by the Indians, but almost every acre of this fine country is said to be susceptible of agricultural improvement. The climate is generally admitted to be remarkably serene and temperate, being well suited to out-door employ-

ment, but the extensive prairies will especially make the raising of live stock the most profitable occupation.

“The chief products are likely to be wheat, oats, and Indian corn. Wool-growing is also likely to become a favorite employment. The accounts respecting the scarcity of timber are not substantially correct. In those parts of the territory where timber is not in abundance, there are many substitutes to replace it. But the country seems generally to be divided into timbered, opening, and prairie. The rolling prairie, interspersed with opening, mostly prevails. The great range of pasturage on the prairies makes it an uncommonly fine grazing country.

“The water-power is admirable. Besides the Kansas, there are innumerable smaller streams and branches running throughout the whole extent of the territory, so that no portion of it is without a plentiful supply of good and generally pure water.”

The following statement is from the pen of a most intelligent gentleman, who has travelled over all parts of America :

“The soil, for the most part, is unsurpassed for richness and depth by any in the world. True, in some parts, as near the mountains, and some other places, it is thin and sandy, but for hundreds of miles from the Missouri state line, not an acre of waste or poor land was to be seen on our route. The land is gently rolling, thus giving an endless variety to the scenery, as well as ridding the country

of all low marshes, swamps, and stagnant pools of water, so productive of malaria and disease. Lest it should be thought that this is written for effect at the present time, and, therefore, the representation too strong, I will quote, upon this subject, a line from my journal written on the spot, in April, 1849, after visiting the Wyandott tribe of Indians in this territory, as follows: 'The land they occupy is immensely rich and very beautiful. All this region, both the Indian territory and this side of the Kansas river (in Missouri), is superior to any I ever saw for cultivation, and if it were occupied by New England society, I would never think of visiting California.' The soil is not only rich, but well watered. Not only are the clouds more prodigal of their treasures than at Salt Lake Valley, and in California, during the summer season, but streams of pure water are to be found, at short intervals, in every direction. These streams are almost invariably skirted with timber, in the eastern portion of the territory, and can afford water-power in abundance for every kind of manufactures."

"The scenery," he continues, "that most attracts emigrants, is found in the eastern portion of this territory, where the deep virgin soil of the rolling prairie invites the plough and spade. To give some idea of this scenery, I will quote my impressions, as they were pencilled while travelling through the territory, south of the Kansas river.

"*May 11th, 1849.* Our course to-day has been over the rolling prairie, and we passed along without difficulty.

The prairie seems to be an endless succession of rolls, with a smooth, green surface, dotted all over with most beautiful flowers. The soil is of the most rich and fertile character, with no waste land. The feelings that come over a person, as he first views this immense ocean of land, are indescribable. As far as the eye can reach, he sees nothing but a beautiful green carpet, save here and there perhaps a cluster of trees; he hears nothing but the feathered songsters of the air, and *feels* nothing but a solemn awe in view of this infinite display of creative power.

"13th. Turned out this morning at four o'clock, to watch the cattle. Went upon a high roll of land, where I had an extensive and enchanting view of this seemingly boundless and ever varying prairie. The sun is rising out of this sea of land in the east, a line of timber skirts Cedar Creek to the N. E., also Spoon Creek to the N. W., while still further on, in the same direction, is seen a thick fog, marking the course of the Kansas river. All is still save the grazing of the cattle, and the concert of birds, which is composed of a great variety of songsters. The cooing of the prairie hens, heard in every direction, constitutes the base; the loud cawing of the crows, the tenor; the fine sweet voices of the ground and small birds, the treble; and a noise as of distant wild geese, the alto.

"23rd. Passed a beautiful little creek of pure cold water, about twelve M., where we found a newly-made grave. Ascended a high bluff near the creek, where I had



a most delightful view of the country to a great distance. I was reminded of the view of the Connecticut river valley from Mt. Holyoke. There is this difference, however: while one is circumscribed by hill and forests, the other is illimitable in extent, and stretches from the rising to the setting sun; and while one is striped and checked with cornfields and meadows like a carpet, the other is capable of being checked as numerously with states and nations."

The character of the Kansas river itself has been indicated in some of these notices of journeys along its shores. The western boundary of Missouri, by the act establishing it in 1820, is fixed as the meridian of longitude which intersects the Missouri river at the entrance of the Kansas. Of course, therefore, the point of land between the Kansas and the Missouri is in the territory of Kansas. It is frequently represented, even in official maps, as if it belonged in Missouri. It is the chief station of the Wyandot tribe, whose governor, Mr. Walker, resides there, as his brothers do. Their church, also, is on this point of land. Kansas city is opposite in Missouri, just east of the state line. It has two advantages which give its inhabitants great hopes that it will become a great commercial city. One of these is its "landing." The river shore is here stone, so that the landing is in no danger of washing away by inundations, an evil to which most of the cities on the Missouri are exposed. The other is that the town has been selected as the present western terminus of the "Pacific Railroad,"

incorporated by the State of Missouri, and now under contract. The line of this road leaves the Missouri river at Jefferson City, and does not approach it again till it strikes at Kansas.

From this point to Republican Fork the Kansas river is free from interruption, and navigable except when the water is very low, as it is through part of the summer. By Lewis and Clarke's measurement it was three hundred and forty yards wide at its mouth. It is wider above, and seldom fordable. A steamboat carried up the supplies needed for the building of Fort Riley, the new government post at the mouth of Republican Fork.

This post was well selected, and the neighborhood will become important. The Republican Fork is navigable farther up, but no explorations have been made public to show how far. The Republican Fork takes its name from the Republican Pawnees, who formerly lived in its vicinity.

In 1844, Col. Fremont descended the valley of the Republican Fork and Kansas. The following are his notes of the country as he saw it then.

" Agreeably to your instructions, which required me to complete, as far as practicable, our examinations of the Kansas, I left, at twenty miles below Bent's Fort, the Arkansas river, taking a north-easterly direction across the elevated dividing grounds which separate that river from the waters of the Nebraska. On the 7th of July we crossed a large stream, about forty yards wide, and one or two feet

deep, flowing with a lively current on a sandy bed. The discolored and muddy appearance of the water indicated that it proceeded from recent rains, and we are inclined to consider this a branch of the Smoky Hill river, although possibly it may be the Pawnee Fork of the Arkansas. Beyond this stream we travelled over high and level prairies, halting at small ponds and holes of water, and using for our fires the *bois de vache*, the country being without timber. On the evening of the 8th we encamped in a cotton-wood grove on the banks of a sandy stream bed, where there was water in holes sufficient for the camp. Here several hollows or dry creeks, with sandy beds, met together, forming the head of a stream which afterwards proved to be the Smoky Hill Fork of the Kansas river.

“As we travelled down the valley, water gathered rapidly in the sandy bed from many little tributaries, and at evening it had become a handsome stream, fifty to eighty feet in width, with a lively current in small channels, the water being principally dispersed among quicksands.

“Gradually enlarging, in a few days’ march it became a river eighty yards in breadth, wooded with occasional groves of cotton-wood. Our road was generally over level uplands bordering the river, which were closely covered with a sward of buffalo-grass.

“The country through which we had been travelling since leaving the Arkansas river, for a distance of two hundred and sixty miles, presented to the eye only a succession

of far-stretching prairies, covered with the unbroken verdure of the buffalo-grass, and sparingly wooded along the streams with straggling trees and occasional groves of cotton-wood ; but here the country began perceptibly to change its character, becoming a more fertile, wooded and beautiful region, covered with a profusion of grasses, and watered with innumerable little streams, which were wooded with oak, large elms, and the usual varieties of timber common to the lower course of the Kansas river.

“As we advanced, the country steadily improved, gradually assimilating itself in appearance to the north-western part of the State of Missouri. The beautiful sward of the buffalo-grass, which is regarded as the best and most nutritious found on the prairies, appeared now only in patches, being replaced by a longer and coarser grass, which covered the face of the country luxuriantly. The difference in the character of the grasses became suddenly evident in the weakened condition of our animals, which began sensibly to fail as soon as we quitted the buffalo-grass.

“The river preserved a uniform breadth of eighty or a hundred yards, with broad bottoms continuously timbered with large cotton-wood trees, among which were interspersed a few other varieties.”

In the extracts already made from Col. Fremont and Col. Emory, their notes on the geology of the sections they passed have appeared. The bituminous coal of the Missouri coal measures appears in numerous places in the eastern

parts of the territory, on both sides of the Kansas river. The limestone on which the soil rests is the carboniferous limestone. Near the state line, south of the mouth of the river, is one of these beds of coal at the surface. At the Wah-ka-rusi river, forty miles west, the Shawnee Indians work the coal, and carry it as far as Westport in Missouri.

Coal is also found in New Mexico, in the immediate neighborhood of the south-western parts of the territory, and the coal region of south-western Nebraska probably extends through western Kansas.

Capt. Stansbury's notes of the geology of the section from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Kearney are full and interesting. The strata are generally shale, sometimes carboniferous, on which is limestone, sometimes siliceous, and always with fossils, and a ferruginous sandstone lying over the limestone. The limestone is sometimes tinged with iron. The fossils are spirifer, productus, terebratula and some crinoideæ. Flint is found with the limestone, and on the surface are pebbles and granite, of quartz and porphyry, with some large blocks of porphyritic granite. At the Big Blue river, where, in a ravine a hundred feet deep, he saw the strata best exposed, they were horizontal from north to south, with a dip of ten degrees to the west. Here the lowest stratum of all was red clay and sand, gray shales were next, then blue limestone, gray limestone, with flint and white sandstone. All these but the clay contained fossils.

The specimens collected here are pronounced by Prof.

James Hall to belong all to the limestone of the carboniferous period, and apparently form the upper of the two great limestones of this period in the west. This limestone continues as far as the Big Blue (in longitude 97°). It is succeeded by strata of cretaceous age, covered in considerable measure by drift.

Of the route from Fort Kearney to Fort Laramie, which indicates the geology of the whole western region, Prof. Hall remarks that nothing older than tertiary formations is observed. In the neighborhood of Fort Laramie is carboniferous limestone again, probably of the same character as that of the eastern part of Kansas. Farther west the rocks are metamorphic, probably of "silurian" age. The coal of that region (already described) coming in with *sigillaria* and *calamites* as fossils, and in the neighborhood of limestone, probably belongs to the true coal measures, and indicates to Prof. Hall the existence of a great coal basin.

From the general aspect of the country it is probable that the most available water-power for immediate use will be found on the streams flowing into the Kansas from the north. These have often a bold, rapid current, and invariably flow through quite deep channels.

## CHAPTER V.

Stations — Military, trading and missionary posts — Projected cities in Nebraska and Kansas.

WE have already said that at the present time, Aug. 1, 1854, there is nothing which deserves the name of a town either in Nebraska or Kansas.

The most prominent positions, as yet, are the military posts established by government. In Nebraska there are two of these, already alluded to, Fort Kearney and Fort Laramie.

Fort Kearney was established in accordance with Col. Fremont's suggestion, in his first report, at the head of Grand Island, in the Nebraska river. All the emigrant routes by that river to California, Utah or Oregon, converge here, so that it becomes a position of importance. Col. Fremont selected the site because in the neighborhood of Grand Island, which supplies it with timber. It has scarcely any other natural advantages. The government has established a post-office there; the military hospital is supplied with

ample stores for the relief of emigrants, and the soil, though not good, has been made to yield some vegetables in the gardens and farm of the fort. The return of last autumn names the 6th regiment of infantry as the garrison, under command of Capt. H. S. Wharton.

We have already spoken of Fort Laramie, which also occupies an unpromising position. In 1849 it was transferred to the United States government by the Fur Company who had established it, and the accommodations of the fort were considerably enlarged. It is the fort originally known as Fort John, and so marked on the oldest maps. At the last return it was garrisoned by a company of the 6th infantry, under Lieut. Garnett. There is a post-office here also.

A post-office is established also at a spot on the Nebraska river known as *Wood River*, which is called the Nebraska Centre post-office. This is one hundred and fifty miles up the river, not far below Fort Kearney. It is said the service is not very regular.

The insignificant stations of the Omaha and Otoe Indians take rank, with names, as towns, at the present time.

Table Creek post-office is at Old Fort Kearney, at the mouth of Table Creek, thirty miles below the mouth of the Nebraska. Here is Boulware's Ferry, one of the principal ferries across the Missouri, and the site of NEBRASKA CITY, so called on paper.

NEBRASKA DEPOT is a ferry three miles below the Nebraska river.



BELLEVUE is a lovely spot on the Missouri river, about nine miles above the mouth of the Nebraska. Here is an Indian agency, and the school of the Ottoe and Omaha Mission.

In the northern parts of the territory, Forts Pierre, Union, Clarke, Benton; Manuel's Fort, Fort Berthold, Fort Alexander, are stations of the Fur Company. The last three are on the Yellowstone. Fort Mandan, at which Lewis and Clarke made their winter quarters in 1805, has not since been tenanted. It is in the territory of Minnesota.

In KANZAS the government forts now occupied are Fort Leavenworth, Fort Riley, and Fort Atkinson.

FORT LEAVENWORTH is on the west side of the Missouri river, three hundred and ninety-eight miles above its mouth, thirty-one miles above the mouth of the Kansas river, and four miles below Weston, Mo., in lat.  $39^{\circ} 21' 14''$  N., and long.  $94^{\circ} 44'$  W. It was established in 1827. "It is the great frontier depot for the other military posts on the Santa Fé and Oregon routes, and the general rendezvous for troops proceeding to western forts. The government reservation of nine square miles is on a handsome location, which rises gradually from the river to a height of one hundred and fifty feet. There is a good landing for steamboats. All the buildings are well constructed of stone, and present quite an imposing appearance. They consist of the barracks for the troops, a large structure, three stories high; a hospital, which cost from \$12,000 to \$15,000; the quartermaster's build-

ing, a capacious warehouse, etc. Connected with the fort is a large farm."

A letter written this spring says:—"About noon we began to approach the vicinity of Fort Leavenworth. This is without exception the most beautiful place on the river. When within two or three miles, whoever has been in the country once will know that he is approaching it by the scenery, which much resembles that of some old English Manor that has been given up for a few years to the keeping of nature, or rather like some gigantic park. It is difficult to believe that the hand of art has not been busy there; the banks of the river are quite high and steep, presenting a mural face of limestone, and the bluffs above are covered with a small growth of elms, their branches covered with a dense foliage and bending gracefully toward the ground like those of the weeping willow. As soon as the boat touched the landing all the passengers stepped on shore and ascended the hill to the barracks, about a quarter of a mile. Much had been said of the beauty of the location and the fine prospect we should enjoy from the top of the bluffs, and consequently the interest was considerable. Nor were we in the least disappointed. As far as the eye could reach on either hand hill rose above hill in an almost endless series of undulations, beautiful streams were winding their sinuous course through fertile valleys, and the whole diversified with fine groves, gave to the view the air of enchantment. Add to this an inexhaustible fertility of soil, and we have a truly

fine country. At the foot of the landing is a large storehouse, at which considerable business is done. On the summit of the bluff is a large plateau, on which the fort, or rather village, stands, for it has far more the appearance of a beautiful village than fort. In the centre are three or four large buildings, much like "city blocks," in which the soldiers have their mess and lodge. At a little distance from these, and at the several corners, are a number of fine houses, the residences of the officers. In the rear is a splendid grove of elms, with their branches bending to the ground, and through the dense foliage a fine prairie breeze is ever playing, rendering the atmosphere cool and healthy. This is the promenade ground."

At the last return Fort Leavenworth was garrisoned by one company of the Fourth Artillery and one of the First Dragoons, under Col. Fauntleroy.

The government has vacillated regarding a western fort in Kansas, and only last spring established that which seems likely to be permanent, at the junction of Republican Fork. This is called Fort Riley. The report of last winter thus describes its progress:—

"The work authorized by Congress, at its last session, to be established at the mouth of the Republican Fork of the Kansas river, was commenced, under the superintendence of Major Ogden. Much labor has been done, and materials procured for future operations. A steam saw-mill is in operation, with shingle machine, lath saws, and mortising

machine attached. The original plan contemplated barracks of stone for eight companies. Only three companies were detailed at first for the garrison, and they arrived so late in the season, that, with the difficulties to be overcome, more than quarters sufficient for the officers and men of two companies, according to the plan, could not be completed; they will, however, during the winter, shelter the four companies of which the garrison is now composed.

“Major Ogden reports that the estimate for the work, based upon prices of labor and material at the time it was made, has proved entirely too small. Prices have increased thirty per cent., and in place of two hundred soldiers which it was estimated might be employed as mechanics and laborers, only from sixty to seventy could be spared from other duties. The increase in the prices of labor and materials, with the addition to the hired force rendered necessary by the small military force furnished, will increase the expense of the work about seventeen thousand dollars; and the barn, stables, granaries, and other buildings necessary for a large mounted force, are estimated to cost about twelve thousand dollars more, making together twenty-nine thousand dollars required to complete the work.”

This fort is one hundred and ten miles above the mouth of the Kansas river, which, as we have said, is navigable thus far. It is in latitude  $39^{\circ} 03' 38''$  N., longitude  $96^{\circ} 24' 56''$  W., at an elevation of nine hundred and twenty-six feet

above the Gulf of Mexico. Its garrison is four companies of the Sixth Infantry, under Capt. Loude.

The necessity of establishing a post on the Arkansas river, to protect emigrants and merchants on the Santa Fé route, early attracted attention. Different sites have been recommended and occupied for a time, under the different names of Fort Sumner, Fort Atkinson and Fort Mann. Last year the force at Fort Atkinson was withdrawn, from the difficulty of obtaining provision and forage, but it has been reëstablished, within a few weeks past, and two companies stationed there. It stands where the Santa Fé trail crosses the Arkansas river, not far from the Big Timbers, which supply it with wood, and even forage.

At the extreme northerly point of Arkansas river, where Walnut Creek enters it, Walnut Creek post-office was established when the troops were withdrawn from Fort Atkinson.

The Big Timbers, already alluded to, are a favorite council-ground and point of rendezvous. They are thirty-five miles below Bent's Fort. This is Mr. Charles Bent's principal trading-house. The buildings are of adobe, well fortified. The farms have been already alluded to. The Pueblo de San Carlos, already described, is the largest station on the Upper Arkansas. Fort Scott, near the Missouri line, was abandoned in 1853, for Fort Riley.

There is a post-office in Kansas at the Delawares' City, ten miles above the mouth of the Kansas.

The Kickapoo mission station is on the Missouri, four

miles above Fort Leavenworth; the Iowa and Sac, just south of the northern line of Kansas. On the Kansas river is Rev. Mr. Johnson's farm, of the Shawnee (Methodist South) mission. This is eight miles up the river. The Shawnee Baptist mission is two miles from it, and the Friends' school three miles west. The American Baptist mission, at Briggswall, is in this neighborhood. Farther up is St. Mary's, the Catholic mission to the Pottawatomies, about sixty miles from the mouth of the Kansas. The success of its farms has already been described. The interesting mission of Mr. Meeker among the Ottowas is south of the river, near the state line. And in that neighborhood is Mr. Lykin's mission, the Baptist Mission and Labor School, supported by the American Indian Missionary Association of Louisville.

The CATHOLIC OSAGE MISSION, on the Neosho river, forty-five miles from Fort Scott, is one of the largest missions and schools in Kansas. It was commenced in 1847, the boys' school having been opened on May 1st, and the girls' school Oct. 10th of that year. The experiment proved so successful that more ample buildings were needed, which were built in 1849 and 1850. The Rev. John Schoenmaker has been the Superior of this mission from its commencement. He is assisted by two other clergymen of the Society of Jesus, and by several lay brothers. Sermons are preached in Osage and English. There are ten missionary stations at as many different Indian villages within

sixty miles, attended monthly from this mission. The Catholic population of this district is reported to be between six hundred and seven hundred, and that of the upper country at three thousand. Attached to this mission is a Manual Labor School for boys, under the direction of the Fathers, assisted by the Rev. Theodore Heiman and eight lay brothers, who attend to the farm, gardens and household business. During the past year, thirty-nine Osage boys were admitted, of whom thirty-four were in constant attendance. The school lately received an important accession by the United States government's transferring, in April, 1853, the Quapaw school to this. Of the Quapaw children, eighteen attend at the male department. The latter is under the care of the Sisters of Loretto, eight in number, formerly from Kentucky, — Mother Concordia, Superior. The number of girls during the year ending Sept. 1, 1853, was thirty-two, and twenty-four of these attended constantly. The girls have improved very rapidly, and are daily instructed in household business, fine sewing, working on lace and embroidery, painting in oil and water colors, etc.

ELM GROVE, or ROUND GROVE, is a noted camping-place on the Santa Fé road, twenty-five miles from Westport, Mo., in lat.  $38^{\circ} 49' 41''$  N., and lon.  $94^{\circ} 25' 31''$  W. Col. Fremont encamped here May 31, 1843, at the commencement of his second expedition. Traders often locate here, for a season, in the prosecution of their business.

COUNCIL GROVE, a noted stopping-place on the great thoroughfare to Santa Fé, contains some half dozen trading houses, a missionary establishment and school, two blacksmiths' shops, etc. \*



## CHAPTER VI.

Routes of travel — The Pacific railroad — Navigable rivers.

THE territory of Kansas, from its position, is the great geographical centre of the internal commerce of the United States.

The only overland routes from the Atlantic to the Pacific, which have thus far accommodated emigrants or merchants, either pass through its borders, or along the Missouri river to the valley of the Nebraska, thus passing along on its eastern side.

A southern route through Texas, and another through Arkansas, have been explored, without thus far attracting the travel of any but explorers.

Of the routes really used, the great emigrant track, through the "South Pass," to Oregon and California, is by far the most important.

It must be understood that the "South Pass" is so called only because it is south of the passes of the upper valley of the Missouri, explored by Lewis and Clarke. It

is more northerly than the pass proposed by Col. Fremont for a railroad, near the line of New Mexico.

The travel along the great emigrant road is equal to that on a considerable turnpike at the east. Settlers leave the river at different places, according as they choose different towns for an outfit. From Independence, Westport, Kansas City, Weston, St. Mary's, St. Joseph's, and other towns in Missouri and Iowa, are different roads, therefore, leading west or north-west to the valley of the Nebraska, along which is the proper emigrant road. Those of these tracks which pass Fort Leavenworth are accommodated by the military road which the government has completed between that fort and Fort Kearney.

This road, called the "New Military Road," was constructed in 1850, by the government, which caused it to be surveyed, improved and bridged, and, having since kept it in good repair, it is called the best of the emigrant routes, being high, level, dry; with fine grass and convenient water. The old military road, into which the road from St. Joseph enters, was abandoned on account of the large streams, swamps, barrens and hills, and its general crookedness.

At Fort Kearney all these roads unite, and there is from that place but one road up the valley. Blacksmith shops and ferries are established along this road for the accommodation of travellers.

The great Santa Fé route has been for many years followed by the overland traders to New Mexico. Its history

will be found fully described in Mr. Gregg's "Commerce of the Prairies." It follows, for a short distance, the Kansas valley, crosses the "divide" to the great bend of the Arkansas, and by that valley proceeds westward to New Mexico. By this route Gen. Kearney's command advanced in 1846. Leaving the Arkansas river at Bent's Fort and soon turning southwards, it keeps along the east flank of the "Spanish Peaks" until a little south of Santa Fé, when, by a series of passes, it crosses into the valley of the Del Norte.

These two great lines of travel are the only two which are used in general by settlers or merchants passing overland to the west. It is by some modification of the one or the other that almost all the projects for a Pacific railroad propose to cross the continent.

In view, however, of the fact that the Missouri river itself gives, far north, the nearest navigable access to the Rocky Mountains, Gov. Stevens, the governor of the territory of Washington, was directed last year to survey the mountains in the neighborhood of the head waters of that stream, with reference to a route for travel through some of their passes.

Meanwhile, since the annexation of New Mexico, several methods of passing the mountains to the north of Santa Fé have been suggested, one of which is that adopted by Col. Fremont in his project for a Pacific railroad.

The following general sketch of the country, through which the various routes to the Pacific must pass, is from

the last report of the Secretary of War. It will enable the reader to understand the details which follow, as to the various passes of the mountains suggested by different enterprises.

“ The western portion of the continent of North America, irrespective of the mountains, is traversed, from north to south, by a broad, elevated swell or plateau of land, which occupies the greater portion of the whole space between the Mississippi river and the Pacific Ocean. The crest of this plateau, or the water-shed of the country, is nearly midway between the Pacific coast and the Mississippi. It may be represented on the map by an undulating line traced between the head waters of the streams which flow eastward and those which flow westward. It divides the whole area between the Mississippi and the Pacific into two nearly equal portions — that on the east being somewhat the larger. This crest of the water-shed has its greatest elevation in Mexico ; and thence declines to its lowest point about the latitude of  $32^{\circ}$ , where it has a height of about four thousand five hundred feet, between the waters of the Rio Grande and those of the San Pedro, a tributary of the Gila. From this parallel it increases in altitude northward, and reaches its maximum near the 38th parallel, where it is about eight thousand feet high. Thence it declines as we pass northward ; and, in lat.  $42^{\circ} 24'$ , it has an elevation of say seven thousand feet ; and, in the latitude of about  $47^{\circ}$ , it is reported to be at least one thousand feet lower. The heights here given are those of the lowest passes over the

crest or water-shed of the great plateau of the country, and not those of the mountain peaks and ridges which have their base upon it, and rise, in some cases, to the height of seventeen thousand feet into the region of perpetual snow.

“The slope of the plateau, on the east and south, towards the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico, is comparatively gentle; and, in Texas, is by several steps, of which the highest is that known by the name of Llano Estacado, or Staked Plain. It is traversed by the Missouri, the Platte, the Arkansas, and other large rivers which rise among the mountains near the crest, and flow eastward and southward in channels sunk beneath the general surface-level of the plains.

“In lat.  $42^{\circ}$ , near the source of the Platte, it has an elevation of about five thousand feet above tide, and in the same latitude on the Mississippi about one thousand feet. Towards the sources of the Arkansas, in lat.  $36^{\circ}$ , it has a height of four thousand feet; and in the same latitude on the Mississippi, two hundred and seventy-five feet. These elevations give an average declination, eastward, to the whole plain, of about four and a half feet per mile, and southward, of about two and a third feet.

“The crest of the plateau, and nearly the whole of its western portion to the Pacific, is occupied by a great mountain system—the continuation of the Andes of South America. It has a variable breadth, narrowest within our possessions, near the Gila, in lat.  $32^{\circ}$ , where it has a width

of about five hundred miles, and attains its greatest expansion in the parallel of  $40^{\circ}$ , where it occupies a space of about nine hundred miles. On this mountain base, as has been said before, are situated a series of elevated peaks, ridges, and ranges. Those on the eastern side are nearly continuous for about nine hundred miles, and known by the name of the Rocky Mountains; those on the western side are perhaps less continuous, though equally elevated above their base, and designated as the Sierra Nevada, Coast Range, Cascade Mountains, etc. The whole space between these extreme ranges is occupied by high peaks, and in various directions by a series of ridges, including elevated valleys, and forming great basins, having no outlet to the sea. The most important of these is Salt Lake Basin, having an elevation of four thousand one hundred feet.

“This mountain region is not, as is frequently supposed, a single chain, but a system extending from a little east of the crest of the water-shed to near the shores of the Pacific, and occupying about one-half of all the space between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean. The position of this belt of mountain region, stretching from north to south, gives rise to a peculiarity of climate and soil. Fertility depends principally upon the degree of temperature and amount of moisture, both of which are much affected by increase of elevation; and the latter, also, depends on the direction of the wind. The upper or return current of the trade-wind, flowing backward towards the north-east, gives a prevalence

of westerly winds in the north temperate zone, which tends to spread the moisture of the Pacific over the western portion of our continent.

“These winds, however, ascending the western slope of the mountain ridges, are deprived of their moisture by the diminished temperature of the increased elevation; and hence it is that the plains and valleys on the eastern side of the ridges are generally parched and barren, and that the mountain system, the highest chain of which, known as the Rocky Mountains, by presenting, as it were, a screen against the moisture with which the winds from the west come laden, has for its eastern margin a sterile belt, which probably extends along the whole range, with an average width of about two hundred and fifty miles.”

There is no physical difficulty of more than ordinary character in the way of a railroad route from the Mississippi to the eastern base of the great mountain region thus described, or to what is usually called the line of the Rocky Mountains. The slopes are gentle, and an average ascent of about six feet to a mile would carry a railroad route to the great sandy plains which stretch about two hundred or three hundred miles east of the mountains proper. The route through the plains, and then through the ridges of the mountains themselves, becomes the question of especial practical interest. The various *passes* proposed refer to different methods of crossing this region. To describe these several passes through the mountains, in the order in which

they have claimed public attention, we speak first of the South Pass. This is at the head of the Sweet Water river, one of the highest tributaries of the North Fork of the Nebraska. It was early known to the trappers, and is described in Capt. Bonneville's adventures, as Mr. Irving has presented them. It was first examined with scientific precision by Lieut. Fremont, in 1842, and afterwards, on his return from the Pacific, in 1844. In his journal of that year he gives the following account of this remarkable highway between the oceans:—

“The morning of August 13th was clear and cold, there being a white frost, and the thermometer, a little before sunrise, standing at 26.5°. Leaving this encampment (our last on the waters which flow towards the rising sun), we took our way along the upland, towards the dividing ridge which separates the Atlantic from the Pacific waters, and crossed it by a road some miles further south than the one we had followed on our return in 1842. We crossed very near the Table Mountain, at the southern extremity of the South Pass, which is near twenty miles in width, and already traversed by several different roads. Selecting as well as I could, in the scarcely distinguishable ascent, what might be considered the dividing ridge in this remarkable depression in the mountain, I took a barometrical observation, which gave seven thousand four hundred and ninety feet for the elevation above the Gulf of Mexico. You will remember that, in my report of 1842, I estimated the ele-



vation of this pass at about seven thousand feet; a correct observation with a good barometer enables me now to give it with more precision. Its importance, as the great gate through which commerce and travelling may hereafter pass between the valley of the Mississippi and the north Pacific, justifies a precise notice of its locality and distance from leading points, in addition to this statement of its elevation. As stated in the report of 1842, its latitude at the point where we crossed is  $42^{\circ} 24' 32''$ ; its longitude,  $109^{\circ} 26' 00''$ ; its distance from the mouth of the Kansas, by the common travelling route, nine hundred and sixty-two miles; from the mouth of the Great Platte, along the valley of that river, according to our survey of 1842, eight hundred and eighty-two miles; and its distance from St. Louis about four hundred miles more by the Kansas, and about seven hundred by the Great Platte route; these additions being steamboat conveyance in both instances. From this pass to the mouth of the Oregon is about one thousand four hundred miles, by the common travelling route; so that, under a general point of view, it may be assumed to be about half way between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean, on the common travelling route. Following a hollow of slight and easy descent, in which was very soon formed a little tributary to the Gulf of California (for the waters which flow west from the South Pass go to this gulf), we made our usual halt four miles from the pass, in latitude, by observation,  $42^{\circ} 19' 53''$ . Entering here the valley of Green

river, — the great Colorado of the West, — and inclining very much to the southward along the streams which form the Sandy river, the road led for several days over dry and level uninteresting plains, to which a low, scrubby growth of artemisia gave a uniform dull grayish color; and on the evening of the 15th we encamped in the Mexican territory, on the left bank of Green river, sixty-nine miles from the South Pass, in longitude  $110^{\circ} 05' 05''$ , and latitude  $41^{\circ} 53' 54''$ , distant one thousand and thirty-one miles from the mouth of the Kansas. This is the emigrant road to Oregon, which bears much to the southward, to avoid the mountains about the western heads of Green river, — the *Rio Verde* of the Spaniards."

Through this pass, as has been already said, all the overland emigration to Oregon passes, and almost all that to California. The emigrant route follows up the north fork of the Nebraska river from Fort Laramie, in order to pass the dividing line of the mountains at this favorable depression. This requires a course so far northerly as to make a considerable deflection in the route of those proceeding to California or Utah; and, in order, if possible, to find a more direct pass, Capt. Stansbury, in returning from the valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1850, made a reconnoissance of Bridger's Pass, which is so called after Major Bridger, who has charge of Fort Bridger, an Indian trading post on the Black Fork of the Green river. This pass is at the head waters of one of the northern tributaries of

the Grand river, called Muddy Creek, just above where it unites with *St. Vrain's*. Capt. Stansbury thus describes the crossing of the ridge at this point, indicating, also, his opinion that *St. Vrain's* will furnish a pass still better:—

“*Sept. 20.* Leaving the camp-ground early, we continued up the right bank of the Muddy Creek, over rather rough ground covered with sage, for a couple of miles, to within one mile of the point where the main fork comes in from the Park Mountains on the south-east, where it heads. Here we turned to the left up a beautiful pass about a mile and a half in length, with a uniform gentle ascent to its summit. From the top of this pass we continued for four miles over a gently undulating country, sloping to the right into the drainage of the Muddy. Here we reached the *dividing height between the waters of the Atlantic and those of the Pacific.*

“Before us lay an undulating country, descending gently to the east; beyond, in the distance, frowned the Medicine-bow Butte, at the foot of which flowed the waters of the Platte, while to the southward of this famous headland stretched far away the Park Mountains, whence issue so many tributaries to the Pacific. From this important summit we commenced a scarcely perceptible descent into a wide grassy hollow, forming the valley of a now dry rivulet, which, in the spring, discharges its waters into Sage Creek, an affluent of the north fork of the Platte. Two miles east of the “divide” we halted to take a noon observation,

for latitude, which placed us in  $41^{\circ} 33' 22''.3$ , the computed longitude being  $107^{\circ} 30' 48''$ . Grass and water were scarce, and the growth of artemisia very thick, making it somewhat difficult to pass our little wagon over it. Near the mouth of this little stream, we crossed over to another, heading near to it, and running parallel with it, upon the banks of which we encamped, after a deeply interesting march of more than twenty-two miles.

“From what has been seen since crossing the summit, I am satisfied that it would have been better had we kept more to the southward before crossing it. If, leaving the ridge forming the southern boundary of the valley, we had followed either the stream upon which we are now encamped, or even the valley of another, some miles still farther south, we should not only have somewhat shortened our route, but obtained a greater abundance of grass, wood, and water, from a high ridge which bounds all these little streams on the south. Observations gave for latitude of the camp  $41^{\circ} 35' 41''$ , longitude  $107^{\circ} 21' 32''$ . Distance from Fort Bridger, two hundred and seven miles. With the exception of the rough ground near the head of the Muddy, which offers no obstruction of consequence, a perfectly feasible, and indeed a most excellent route, whether for a wagon or railroad, has thus been traced, presenting fewer obstacles to the construction of either than almost any tract of the same length in the country. The grades will be easy, the bridging comparatively light, and, with the exception of the crossing of

the valley of the Muddy, where a long and heavy embankment may be required, the cuttings and fillings will be entirely within moderate limits. In no case will an inclined plane be required, and the route is more than usually free from the objection of high and narrow cañons, liable to be filled up or obstructed by snow during the winter."

There appears to be no depression in the mountain range south of Bridger's Pass, or of St. Vrain's Fork near it, which offers, even to the most sanguine, the idea of a route fit for a railroad, until about the parallel of  $38^{\circ}$ —north of the Spanish Peaks, but south of the high land around Pike's Peak. Col. Fremont suggests this region as the line for the projected line of railway; and the late Capt. Gunnison was directed to explore it by the government in 1853.

To come into the valley of the Del Norte, several mountain passes were in use by the muleteers; four of which were known as the Sangre del Christo Pass, the Roubidoux or Musca Pass, Williams's Pass, and the San Luis Pass. Once in the valley of the Del Norte, by one of these passes, the traveller has to get out again, and there are open to him westward the Coo-chi-tope Pass and the Leroux Pass. All of these passes were examined by Capt. Gunnison. The first four named proved quite useless for any purposes of a railroad; indeed, the "Sangre del Christo," which was improved as a supply road for Fort Massachusetts on the Del Norte, is but a difficult wagon road. Capt. Gunnison himself discovered a better summit level very low, over which

even a railroad can easily be made from the plains of the Arkansas to Fort Massachusetts in the valley of the Del Norte.\* He also explored the San Luis Pass, and thought these more practicable than the others. These passes are just west of the western line of Kansas, which, as it will be remembered, is on the dividing ridge over which they cross. By the last but one of these passes does Col. Fremont propose to carry the California railroad into the valley of the Grand River of the west. It was free from snow, Dec. 8th, 1853.

The survey which Capt. Gunnison was conducting in the valley of the Great Salt Lake was interrupted by his death. He was killed by the Indians, on the 26th of October, with thirteen of his party. His first officer was Lieut. Beckwith, who remained with the remnant of the party in the Great Salt Lake City through the winter, to complete the survey and drawings. His report has not been published.

The traders' route to Santa Fé does not follow the valley of the Kansas river far. Capt. Gunnison found a line by which, following the valley of that river, a road could cross the Saline and Smoky Hill Forks, and pass directly to the Arkansas, without following the bend of that river or of the Smoky Hill.

The usual route to Santa Fé crosses a line of country easier than these described so far as that city. A line yet

\* It must be remembered that Utah Creek, on which Fort Massachusetts stands, is a tributary of the Del Norte, and has no connection with the waters of Utah river or Utah lake. It is not in the Utah Territory.

farther south has been surveyed along the valley of the Cimarron, joining the traders' route near Vegas, eighty miles south of the line of Kansas. The greatest height on the traders' route, as observed by Lieut. Emory when he crossed with Gen. Kearney, is seven thousand five hundred feet. He thus describes the pass, beginning at an encampment of which the height was five thousand eight hundred and ninety-six feet:—

“*August 6.* Colonel Kearney left Colonel Doniphan's regiment and Major Clarke's artillery at our old campground of last night, and scattered Sumner's dragoons three or four miles up the creek, to pass the day in renovating the animals by nips at the little bunches of grass spread at intervals in the valleys. This being done, we commenced the ascent of the Raton, and, after marching seventeen miles, halted with the infantry and general staff within a half mile of the summit of the pass. Strong parties were sent forward to repair the road, which winds through a picturesque valley, with the Raton towering to the left. Pine trees here obtain a respectable size, and lined the valley through the whole day's march. A few oaks (*Quercus olivaformis*), big enough for axles, were found near the halting-place of to-night. When we first left the camp this morning, we saw several clumps of the pinôn (*Pinus edulis*). It bears a resinous nut, eaten by Mexicans and Indians. We found, also, the lamita in great abundance. It resembles the wild currant, and is,

probably, one of its varieties; grows to the height of several feet, and bears a red berry, which is gathered, dried, pounded, and then mixed with sugar and water, making a very pleasant drink, resembling currant cordial. We were unfortunate in not being able to get either the fruit or flower. Neither this plant, the pinôn, nor any of the plum trees nor grape vines, had any fruit on them, which is attributable to the excessive drought. The stream, which was last year a rushing torrent, is this year dry, and in pools.

“The view from our camp is inexpressibly beautiful, and reminds persons of the landscapes of Palestine. Without attempting a description, I refer to the sketch.

“The rocks of the mountain were chiefly a light sandstone, in strata, not far from horizontal; and the road was covered with many fragments of volcanic rocks, of purplish-brown color, porous, and melting over a slow fire.

“The road is well located. The general appearance is something like the pass at the summit of the Boston and Albany railroad, but the scenery bolder, and less adorned with vegetation.

“An express returned from the spy-guard which reported all clear in front. Captain Cooke and Mr. Liffendorfer have only reached the Canadian river. It was reported to me that, at Captain Sumner’s camp, about seven miles above where we encamped last night, and twelve miles from the summit, an immense field of coal crops out, the seam



being thirty feet deep. To-night our animals were refreshed with good grass and water.

“Nine observations on Polaris give, for the latitude of the place,  $37^{\circ} 00' 21''$ . Seven on Arcturus, in the west, and seven on Alpha Aquilæ, in the east, give the chronometric longitude  $6h. 57m. 01.35s$ . Height above the sea, seven thousand one hundred and sixty-nine feet.

“*August 7, camp 36.* We recommenced the ascent of the Raton, which we reached with ease, with our wagons, in about two miles. The height of this point above the sea, as indicated by the barometer, is seven thousand five hundred feet. From the summit we had a beautiful view of Pike's Peak, the Wattahyah, and the chain of mountains running south from the Wattahyah. Several large white masses were discernible near the summits of the range, which we at first took for snow, but which, on examination with the telescope, were found to consist of white limestone, or granular quartz, of which we afterwards saw so much in this country. As we drew near, the view was no less imposing. To the east rose the Raton, which appeared still as high as from the camp, one thousand five hundred feet below. On the top of the Raton the geological formation is very singular, presenting the appearance of a succession of castles. As a day would be required to visit it, I was obliged to forego that pleasure, and examine it merely with the glass. The mountain appears to be formed chiefly of sandstone, disposed in strata of various shades of color,

dipping gently to the east, until you reach near the summit, where the castellated appearance commences, the sides here being perpendicular and the seams vertical. The valley is strewn with pebbles and fragments of trap rock, and the fusible rock described yesterday, cellular lava, and some pumice.

“For two days our way was strewn with flowers; exhilarated by the ascent, the green foliage of the trees in striking contrast with the deserts we had left behind, they were the most agreeable days of the journey.

“There is said to be a lake about ten miles to the east of the summit, where immense herds of deer, antelope, and buffalo congregate, but this may be doubted.

“The descent is much more rapid than the ascent, and for the first few miles through a valley of good burned grass and stagnant waters, containing many beautiful flowers. But frequently you come to a place where the stream (a branch of the Canadian) has worked itself through the mountains, and the road has to ascend and then descend a sharp spur. Here the difficulties commence; and the road, for three or four miles, is just passable for a wagon; many of the train were broken in the passage. A few thousand dollars judiciously expended here would be an immense saving to the government.”

These various routes of travel westward are all which have been in fact followed by persons crossing with goods or heavy stores from the one ocean to the other.

A southern route contemplates a line drawn from St. Louis to the south-west corner of Missouri, thence westerly to the neighborhood of Bent's Fort, where it would unite with that already described.

The various southern routes, converging from various directions in Upper Texas, propose to pursue a route almost west, through El Paso and the strip of territory purchased of Mexico by the treaty of December 30th, 1853, to San Francisco. But these routes, though explored, have not been travelled on by emigrants or merchants.

The great practicable routes, thus far used, lead through Kansas, or the valley of Nebraska river.

There are various detailed questions already agitated as to the route which a railroad should follow on leaving the valley of the Missouri, and at what point of that valley it should begin.

The Hannibal and St. Joseph's railroad, running through the State of Missouri, from the Mississippi river to the Missouri, nearly westward, is already in progress of construction. The friends of this enterprise are eager in pressing its continuation westward, through Kansas, as the beginning of a railway to the Pacific.

Further south the "Pacific Railroad," so called, of Missouri, which is open about forty miles westward from St. Louis, is to run to Kansas City, at the mouth of Kansas river. Col. Benton and Col. Fremont, in proposing what is called "Fremont's line of railroad," suggest that it should

be a continuation of this road, and run from Kansas City. Between these lines, Lynceus, the anonymous author of a remarkable pamphlet published in 1853, in St. Louis, urges that any road undertaken by the government should run from Fort Leavenworth by Bridger's Pass. It would thus pass through the great fertile "divide" between the Kansas and Nebraska rivers, and, avoiding the passage of any wide river, proceed nearly westward to the Salt Lake City.

To hazard a guess from the entirely insufficient information which we have as to the mountain passes, the western part of this route would be the most feasible. The advantage of beginning at Fort Leavenworth is simply that the government has already a large establishment at that post. It would be necessary to build a line from Kansas City, thirty miles, on the west bank of the Missouri, to connect with the "Pacific railroad" of the Missouri. A line of about the same length would connect with the Hannibal and St. Joseph's railroad, at the north, but its continuity would be interrupted by the Missouri river.

It is scarcely probable that the advantages resulting from the establishment of a base of operations at Fort Leavenworth, would compensate for the considerable divergence from a western line which would be necessary to get there. If Bridger's Pass, or St. Vrain's, just south of it, prove practicable, a line from Kansas City, up the valley of Kan-

zas river, through this pass, would unite the advantages claimed for a route from Fort Leavenworth.

But it must be understood that all such speculations with regard to a Pacific railway are, thus far, simply speculations. The public and the newspapers are fond of talking as if an enterprise of this sort were to be completed in a year or two, by what is called the "indomitable energy of the American people." In fact, two bids have been offered to Congress, offering to build a road from the Mississippi to San Francisco in five years. If two hundred working days could be crowded into each year, besides the exceptions necessary in the mountains, in winter, and those arising from storms and other interruptions, this would be at the rate of *two miles of railroad a day*, half of which, through the great mountain plateau described, is through a worse country than a railroad was ever carried through, completely destitute of supplies and often of water.

To begin to build a great route of communication to the Pacific, the first necessity is to begin to talk reasonably about it. And first, it will require a population through the country which it is to pass, so far as the country can support a population. The emigration to Kansas will give it that population for two hundred miles, perhaps three hundred miles, farther than now exists. Settlers, who establish themselves along the valley of the Kansas, and between Fort Riley and Fort Kearney, may indulge the hope that the great line of

western communication will one day pass near them. At present, as has been said already, the great line of emigrant travel is along the military road north-west from Fort Leavenworth.

The largest number of overland emigrants which ever crossed the plains in one year is eighty thousand.

A military road is now in progress from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley.

We have spoken of these various routes together, because they passed in or near the regions of Nebraska and Kansas which will be first settled. It remains to speak of the remarkable passes much farther north, explored, in 1853, by Gov. Stevens. This officer, after a rapid reconnaissance of a line through the territory of Minnesota, from the city of St. Paul to the neighborhood of old Fort Mandan, carried a survey along the north side of the Missouri river to the neighborhood of Fort Benton. West of this fort he examined two passes, one called Cadot's Pass, the other surveyed by Lieut. Mullan. He represents the level of Cadot's Pass as three thousand feet lower than that of the South Pass, as measured by Col. Fremont. His full report is not yet published. His sketch of the surveys west of the mountains does not appear very encouraging. But the officers who wintered in the neighborhood of Cadot's and Mullan's Passes report that these were but little encumbered with snow. It may yet prove that the supplies for

Oregon and Washington territories may be forwarded by the Missouri and one of these passes. The main difficulties will be found, not in the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains, but in the territories themselves.

It may be well to repeat here what has already been stated, that the Missouri river can be navigated by steamboats to the Great Falls.

The Yellowstone has been navigated eighty miles from its mouth.

It is navigable by flat-boats two or three hundred miles farther.

The El Paso steamboat ascended the Nebraska four or five hundred miles, in the spring of 1853.

Steamboats ascend the Kansas river to Fort Riley.

A steamboat has ascended the Arkansas, during high water, for nearly a hundred miles above the south line of Kansas.

These are the only navigable rivers in the two territories.

## CHAPTER VII.

Political history — Sovereignty of France, Spain, France and the United States — Missouri debate — Indian legislation — Platte purchase — Organization of the territories — Nebraska debate.

UP to the summer of 1854, Kansas and Nebraska have had no civilized residents, except the soldiers sent to keep the Indian tribes in order, the missionaries sent to convert them, the traders who bought furs of them, and those of the natives who may be considered to have attained some measure of civilization from their connection with the whites.

For a region that has had so little practical connection with the political arrangements of civilized states, this immense territory has had a political history singularly varied.

It has been successively under the dominion of France, of Spain, of France again, and of the United States. A part of Kansas was under the dominion of Mexico. The government of the United States now resigns its sovereignty to the men who shall settle in it, under the modern phrase of allowing "squatter sovereignty" to the first comers.

Discovered by Dutisne, so far as appears, in 1719, the valleys of the Kansas and Nebraska were then claimed as a



part of the empire of Louis XIV. A very short time after, a Spanish force, from New Mexico, ravaged an Indian village, and was cut to pieces by the savages. It is probable that the Spanish government of that province always made some claims to the neighboring regions east of the mountains. By the treaty of November, 1762, France ceded to Spain all her possessions west of the Mississippi, and these territories, which she had never in any form settled, and scarcely begun to explore, passed under the dominion of the Spanish crown with the rest.

Spanish garrisons were then placed in the forts on the Mississippi, and that at St. Louis was thus occupied with the rest. But Spain took no notice of such distant regions as Kansas and Nebraska, which have not yet been cursed by any discoveries of gold or silver.

In 1795 the free navigation of the Mississippi was secured to the United States, by treaty. But, in 1798, the Spanish posts north of the parallel of 31° were evacuated, and when, in 1801, some representations were made by the United States government for redress for violations of the treaty, the Spanish government replied that it had ceded the whole territory to France again. The French force destined for the occupation of the country was, however, blockaded in the Dutch ports by the English, and Mr. Jefferson seized the occasion for that celebrated negotiation, by which, for fifteen million dollars, he purchased the whole territory of Louisiana.

The whole region having thus passed peacefully into the hands of the United States, was divided, in 1804, into two parts, the territorial government of Orleans, and the district of Louisiana. A territorial government was afterwards established in this district. "Orleans," in 1812, was admitted as a state into the Union, under the name of Louisiana. The Louisiana territory was then known under the general name of the Missouri territory, of which the only parts settled by whites were some plantations in Arkansas and the eastern parts of Missouri.

The government still exercised no further sovereignty over the parts of this territory which are the especial subjects of the present volume, except to send out exploring expeditions, and to pass laws regulating trade with the Indians. The great expedition of Lewis and Clarke passed up the Missouri in 1804. They wintered at Fort Mandan, went up the river to its sources, and across to the Pacific the next year, and returned in 1806. In this year Lieut. Pike was sent to survey the country east of the Rocky Mountains, in the valleys of the Nebraska, Kansas and Arkansas. He performed his task with bravery and assiduity, but, having trespassed on Spanish territory, under the mistaken impression that he was on the sources of the Arkansas, was taken prisoner with his men and carried to Santa Fé. They were afterwards set at liberty and sent to Nachitoches. In 1819 and 1820, an expedition, under Maj. Long, examined the

valley of the Nebraska, crossed to the Arkansas, and descended the valley of that stream.

In 1818 the population of the settled parts of the territory of Missouri had become so considerable that the inhabitants were desirous of admission into the Union. A bill for that purpose was introduced into Congress, in the session of 1818 and 1819. It did not attract very general attention out of Congress at that time. The proceedings of Congress were not so immediately known or so thoroughly canvassed through the country then as now. The bill was lost at that session, because the House of Representatives insisted on what was then called "the Restriction," introduced by Mr. Taylor, of New York, providing that in the new state involuntary servitude should not exist. The Senate refused to concur with the House in the "Restriction," and the bill was lost.

Rufus King, of New York, had distinguished himself in the Senate by urging "the Restriction." As the next session of Congress approached, the necessity of fixing it upon the bill attracted universal attention at the North. Mr. King was greatly interested in calling to it the general interest of the public. The substance of his speeches of the last session, as prepared by himself for the press, was printed and circulated widely. Before the session of Congress a public meeting was held in New York, to insist on the adoption of the "Restriction" in the Missouri bill. It was addressed by Mr. King, and was the first of a series of sim-

ilar meetings held at the principal towns in the Northern States.

On the discussion thus begun, the future institutions of the territory, still unsettled, in a measure depended. And the great question was battled, not as if it concerned Missouri only, but as one in which all the future of the West was concerned.

It has been often said, during the past year, that the excitement on the similar question regarding Nebraska and Kansas is unparalleled. This is said only by those who have not examined the history of the "Missouri debate." Incidents occurred every day which showed the deep-seated excitement and irritation of the public mind at the North and at the South.

Such, for instance, was the display of wounded pride at Savannah.\* A disastrous fire had ravaged that city. Its government had implored relief from abroad in the most earnest tones. Public meetings and contributions at the North answered this call. Among other cities, New York acted, and remitted near eleven thousand dollars for the relief of the sufferers. It happened that, just before, New York had sent similar relief to the town of Schenectady, ravaged in the same way. The worthy citizens of Schenectady regarded this as a gift to all who had lost, partaking of the nature of insurance, and divided it *pro rata* among the sufferers, giving most, of course, to those richest inhabitants who had most to lose. Fearful of such a disposition of

their Savannah fund, the government of New York sent with it the request—not, certainly, very extravagant—that it might be distributed among the poorest citizens, and added the condition, “*without distinction of color.*” These unfortunate words sealed its fate. The hot blood of Savannah boiled, and by a vote of the councils the insult was met by sending back the money with a short, impertinent letter. We have had but one evidence of ill-feeling more marked than this in our own time.

On the other side, a Philadelphia insurance company, when asked at what rate it would insure some southern property, answered that its directors had concluded that they would not take any more risks south of Mason and Dixon’s line.

The January number of the North American Review, in 1820, published a paper, by Judge Shaw, in defence of the restriction, which was widely circulated. It was luminous, decided and Christian in its tone, singularly applicable to the discussion just passed. It might have been reprinted,—changing the word Missouri to the word Nebraska,—and would have completely met the case recently before the country. It is to be remembered, at the same time, that the introduction of African slaves by smuggling was still going on at the South. One of Judge Story’s charges on the slave-trade was printed in the midst of this discussion, and in Congress it was admitted, on all hands, that large numbers of recently captured slaves were brought in by

way of Galveston and the ports of Florida. Mr. King's speeches, as has been said, had also been very widely circulated. They contain a review of the policy of the government on the subject of slavery, which has been used, and to advantage, in the composition of speeches made during the present year at Washington.

At the beginning of the session, there was at the North no question whatever as to the success of the northern view, — at least so far as an arrest of the introduction of Missouri by a disagreement on the "restriction" between the branches.

Congress met on the 7th of December. It is worthy of remark, that, all the preliminaries having been adjusted, a bill passed, the very first week, for the admission of the slave state of Alabama; the questions regarding the new states of Maine and Missouri having been reserved for after discussion.

The territory of Arkansas had been organized the preceding year. The immediate question related, therefore, to the new state of Missouri, — to the present state of Iowa, and to the present territories of Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska, all then known as the Missouri territory. The debates began simultaneously in both houses.

In the great discussion which followed, the southern policy and skill at tactics showed itself in an effort to unite the fate of Maine and Missouri, both of which states had applied for admission. The difference of position of the

two is manifest. It need not be better expressed than in Mr. Otis's witty way. It fell to him to oppose the union of the Maine and Missouri bills in the Senate. "A young lady," he says, "no longer young, of a certain age, in fact, presents herself on her wedding day, when every one has given consent, and there is no objection to the match at all; and you delay the nuptials because a young miss in her teens has not got her corsets ready."

The debate was conducted with great spirit on both sides. On the 14th of January, 1820, the Senate passed the bill for the admission of the district of Maine, with the addition of the bill introducing Missouri, by a vote of twenty-five to eighteen. This was the first vote taken in the Senate, and, as it was known that the House was decidedly in favor of the restriction, here was an evidence that the disagreement of the last session still continued. This vote, however, was by no means a final one; and the debate in the Senate went on side by side with that in the House, at intervals, on one proposition or another, until the beginning of March.

Unfortunately, a part only of the speeches made in the two bodies is preserved. Of the debate in the House, in particular, very little is recorded. Many of the leading speeches, however, were written out by the authors. But we have to regret, especially, the almost entire loss of that of Mr. Clay. He was then speaker, but left the chair in

order to speak against the restriction, which he did with great power.

The debate was certainly marked by signal ability, and almost entirely exhausted the subject. It is remarkable to see how precisely appropriate the various speeches preserved are to the recent discussion. Indeed, one need only read them to see that they have been freely used, with and without credit, by the orators of our day, on both sides, in Congress.

An argument in favor of the restriction, not much relied upon in later times, drawn from the constitution of the United States, was pressed then with a good deal of energy. It is drawn from Sec. 9 of the first article, which provides : —

ART. 1.—SEC. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states *now existing* shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

Mr. John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, Mr. Rufus King, and other statesmen who favored the restriction, argued that the word “migration” here meant the movement of slaves from state to state, and that, therefore, the power to prevent that movement was distinctly given to Congress. Mr. Pinkney opposed this view. Mr. Otis, in his reply to Mr. Pinkney, did not insist upon it; and it has not attracted much notice in recent arguments on the subject. On the other hand, the arguments of the opponents of the restric-



tion differed in one point from those who take similar ground now. There was then no defence of the institution of slavery, except as a temporary misfortune, which should not be harshly dealt with. Mr. Clay's argument against the restriction rested on the impression, which has since proved completely fallacious, that the more widely the slaves in the country were scattered, the more rapid would be the natural decline of the institution of slavery. Mr. Pinkney, the leading opponent of the restriction in the Senate, was taunted in public because his opinions had been expressed, at an early age, in favor of the emancipation of slaves. He had made his *débüt* in public life by a speech, in the Maryland Convention, in favor of that principle. Copies of this speech were now sent from Connecticut to every member; but Pinkney said, when he read the speech again, that it was a better speech than he had feared, and that he was glad that it was put in circulation. And in his great speech of this session he says that his effort is, not to answer any arguments on the evils of slavery, but simply to show that the restriction of those evils would rest on no rights granted in the constitution. No southern statesman attempted the defence of slavery as a permanent institution.

These two are the only important differences between the principles of the debate of that winter and those of that which has but recently closed.

In the Senate, this speech of Mr. Pinkney's was the

leading speech, — a masterly effort, which met a masterly reply from Harrison Gray Otis. A part of it is preserved, as it was reconstructed from Mr. Pinkney's notes, by his biographer, Mr. Wheaton. It was delivered with great impetuosity of manner, attracted general applause, greatly encouraged the opponents of the restriction, and was the storehouse of constitutional argument, from which they drew constantly through the remainder of the debate. In the form in which it is preserved, it is marked with great elegance and ability. The arrangement of its argument is somewhat formal, and it abounds in the artistic display of logical rules of which Mr. Pinkney was fond. His friends considered it as one of the chief triumphs of his short career in the Senate.

Mr. Rufus King was not yet reëlected to his seat in the Senate, and it was understood that Mr. Otis would reply. His speech was not published for some months after. It is somewhat singular that it has not been reprinted in the midst of the interest which recent events have given to this great debate. It is calm, dignified, and clear. He meets the ingenuity of the southern orator with all the brilliancy of his own fancy, and attacks this somewhat cumbrous armor of the logical system of an older generation with the blows of his own strong good sense, which have the momentum always given by the eternal right in all discussions as to laws and constitutions. His position, thus standing for the right, is far simpler than that of Mr.

Pinkney, owning that slavery is wrong, but urging that there is no constitutional power to restrict it.

It is curious to find, in these two great speeches on the different sides of this great question, that there were adduced two mere suppositions of fancy, which to the orators seemed impossibilities, but which the generation which has passed has shown as realities.

Mr. Pinkney was arguing that slavery could exist in a republic, in reply to Mr. Morrill, of New Hampshire, who had defined a republic as a state where all the men united in the government.

"I beg leave," said Mr. Pinkney, "if we are to entertain these hopeful abstractions, — if it be true that all the men in a republican government must help to wield its power, and be equal in rights, — I beg leave to ask the honorable member from New Hampshire, — and why not all the *women*? They too are God's creatures, and not only very fair but very rational creatures; and our great ancestor, if we are to give credit to Milton, accounted them the 'wisest, virtuouslest, discreetest, best;' although, to say the truth, he had but one specimen from which to draw his conclusion, and possibly if he had had more would not have drawn it at all." \* \* \* Continuing in the strain, he pushes his argument, *ad absurdum*, so far as to say, "If the ultra-republican doctrines which have now been broached should ever gain ground among us, I should not be surprised if some romantic reformer, treading in the

footsteps of Mrs. Woolstoncraft, should propose to repeal our republican law salique, and claim for our wives and daughters a full participation in political power, and to add it to that domestic power, which in some families, as I have heard, is as absolute and unrepubli- can as any power can be."

The idea is thrown out as a complete impossibility, — only possible as a consequence of the wild theory of freedom. A generation has called into being the reformers whose existence seemed to him so incredible.

On the other hand, in Mr. Otis's reply, he also makes the supposition of an impossibility which a generation has exhibited in reality. "There were," he said, "it was well known, in many parts of this country, societies of people called Shakers, of good moral characters, exemplary habits of industry, whose fundamental doctrines were founded on the duty of celibacy. They are also a rich people, and in some of the states experience interruptions in their endeavors to increase their numbers, and inconvenience from laws which press upon their consciences, especially in military concerns. Imagine, sir," said he, "these societies combined and determined to make a pilgrimage and become sojourners in the new country of promise. Figure to yourself four or five thousand adults of both sexes with their children in spirit,—a dismal procession marching beyond the Mississippi, until they shall find a spot suited to their occasions; then halting and sending a missionary to you, with the intelli-

gence of their 'demand' to be admitted as a state. Are you bound to admit them without a stipulation that they shall make no laws prohibiting marriage, at the moment you knew this to be the main design of their emigration, and thus secure a sect of those peculiar and unsocial tenets a monopoly of that entire state, and a power of virtually excluding from its territory the great mass of your citizens?"

In this passage, Mr. Otis presented as a policy wholly insupportable and indefensible the very policy which has permitted the establishment of the Mormon state of Utah. For the argument applies as well to the Mormon laws regarding marriage, as to the laws of celibacy sustained by the Shakers. And a "monopoly of that entire state, and a power of virtually excluding from its territories the great mass of the citizens of the United States," has been granted, in exactly the way which then seemed fanciful, and even impossible.

Both in Senate and House, the tone of oratory was even more rabid and rancorous than we have heard in the last few years.

John Randolph, half mad, as his friends said, cried, "God has given us the Missouri, and the devil cannot take it from us." On the other hand, northern language was decided, in reply.

"If the alternative," says Mr. Lowrie, of Pennsylvania, in the House, "be the dissolution of this Union or extension of slavery over the whole western country, I choose the

former." With the true oratory of the stump, Mr. Walker, of Georgia, cries, "He must be badly acquainted with signs of the times who does not perceive a storm portending, and callous to all the finer feelings of our nature who does not dread the bursting of that storm.

"I cannot but imagine to myself intestine feuds, civil wars, and all the black catalogue of evils consequent on such a state of things. I behold the father armed against the son, and the son against the father. I see the brother drawing his sword from his brother's breast. I perceive our houses wrapt in flames and our wives and infant children driven from their homes, forced to submit to the pelting of the pitiless storm, with no other shelter but the canopy of heaven, with nothing to sustain them but the cold charity of an unfeeling world." On the other hand, Mr. Taylor, who had first moved the "Restriction," with curious foresight, inveighing against the extension of slave representation, states this climax of its claims:—"On an implied power to acquire territory by treaty, you raise an implied right to erect it into states, and imply a compromise by which slavery is to be established and its slaves represented in Congress. Is this just? Is it fair? Where will it end?  
\* \* \* Your lust of acquiring is not yet satiated. You must have the Floridas. Your ambition rises. You covet Cuba and obtain it. You stretch your arms to the other islands in the Gulf of Mexico, and they become yours. Are the millions of slaves inhabiting those countries to be incor-

porated into the Union and represented in Congress? Are the freemen of the old states to become the slaves of the representatives of foreign slaves? You may have the power to pass such laws, but beware how you use it."

Mr. Barbour, of Virginia, had called the restriction "a spark ignited, which shall shake this Union to its centre."

"The gentleman talks of sparks ignited," says Mr. Otis in reply. "I can tell him that when the pine forests of Maine are lighted, they will burn with quite as fierce a flame as the spire grass of Missouri."

In this debate, Pennsylvania was first called the "key-stone state," by Mr. Clay, in his great speech, of which this passage, preserved in the reply, is one of the few fragments:—

"I appeal to Pennsylvania, — the unambitious Pennsylvania, — the key-stone of the federal arch, whether she will concur in a measure calculated to disturb the peace of this Union!"

"Sir," says John Sergeant in reply, with a direct allusion to Mr. Clay, "this was a single arch, it is becoming a combination of arches; and where the centre now is, whether in Kentucky or Pennsylvania, might be very hard to tell. Pennsylvania feels her responsibility to the Union, but she feels also her responsibility to a great moral principle. That principle she announced the day she expressed her gratitude for independence. 'We feel called

upon,' she said then, 'to show the sincerity of our profession. In commemoration of our own deliverance from the tyranny of Britain, Be it enacted, that no child born hereafter shall be a slave.' "

Northern statesmen had reason for confident language. In the House the first vote taken resulted in a division, ninety-three to seventy-two in favor of the restriction, — a clean majority of nineteen. And the first time what has since been called the Compromise appeared, it was rejected by a vote of one hundred and fifty-nine to eighteen, the most eager men on both sides voting against it.\*

In the Senate this proposal of the "Compromise" of the line of  $36^{\circ} 30'$ , as the future boundary between free and slave states, was introduced by Mr. Thomas, of Illinois. It had been suggested in the debate of the year before. It is now very curious to see how eagerly everybody afterwards disowned it. Indeed, on the North it was a great wrong. On the whole cause of the country it was a great wrong. It is not singular, then, that it was always without an acknowledged parent.

At this session it had been suggested again by Mr. Pinkney. For political effect, however, the mover was a northern man, and Mr. Thomas, of Illinois, assumed that position. It passed the Senate first. The northern votes for it were two from Illinois, one from Rhode Island, and one from New Hampshire.

\* The wits of Congress, tired of the discussion by this time, called it the "*misery debate*."



The House refused to concur with the Senate. It insisted on its own complete "Restriction" on all the territory. The "Compromise line" was then moved again. It obtained thirty-three votes only, and the complete restriction passed by a clear majority of eight votes. This was on the 28th of February.

The succeeding votes indicated the same temper by about the same majority, and, on the 1st of March, as the House bill was sent to the Senate, it had passed by a majority of nine, making every inch of land not included among the states forever free.

The House took this vote upon its own bill, not that which had come from the Senate.

In that temper was the House when it adjourned on Wednesday. What happened on Wednesday night, what promises were made, what offices suggested, what terms instilled into recusants, will never be told. It is in the history which never was written, and it will be easier to find material for telling twenty years hence than now. But Mr. Monroe, the President, was doubtless eager that the Compromise measure should go through. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter written at the time, had said, "This is the most portentous question that ever threatened our Union. In the darkest moments of the revolutionary war, I never had any apprehensions equal to that I feel from this source."

Mr. Calhoun's account of the change in the House was, that if no arrangement had been made, Missouri and Mis-

souri territory would have set up in a republic of their own ; northern members, he says, knew this, and, having shown their first wish, were anxious now to avert that danger in any way that was honorable.

This theory hardly accounts for the rapidity of their change of conviction.

The history which is written tells that the Senate having returned the House bill non-concurring, the House was greatly excited. The Missouri Compromise was again suggested by a committee of conference. The debate was kept up late. After seven, Thursday evening, when Mr. Mercer, of Virginia, was pressing it, he fainted suddenly in front of the chair. The vote was pressed at once. There were one or two absentees who lost their vote by the rapidity of the decision, and the House struck out the restriction from its own bill, and acceded to the Compromise proposal by a vote of ninety to eighty-six. The majority of nine had been tortured into a minority of four. The Compromise provision, as it has been called since, took the place of the complete restriction.

At that moment there were two men, and only two in that House, who supposed that that Compromise was unconstitutional : John Randolph, who tells us so, and Mr. Archer, of Virginia. And it so trembled, it so shook in the wind, so fearful were its friends that it should fail, that they did not dare meet the re-consideration which Randolph announced that he should move in the morning.

He tells the story in one of his incoherent speeches, aiming with great bitterness at Mr. Clay, whom he calls "Mr. Manager" in speaking of this matter, and to whom he ascribes the success of the whole affair.

The night of the passage of the bill he asked Mr. Clay if he could move a re-consideration the next day. Mr. Clay said he could. In the morning Randolph suspected an intrigue to hurry the bill out of the House before he should have his chance to make his motion. He exerted himself to prevent this, as he could, out of the House, and then took his seat. "I found the clerk reading the journal; the moment after he had finished I made the motion to re-consider. I was seconded by my colleague, Mr. Archer, to whom I could appeal — not that my testimony wants evidence — I should like to see the man who would question it as a matter of fact. This fact is well remembered; a lady would as soon forget her wedding-day as I forget this. The motion to re-consider was opposed; it was a debatable question; and the speaker stated something this way, 'that it was not for him to give any orders; the clerk knew his duty.' The clerk went more than once — my impression is that he went more than twice. I could take my oath — and so, I believe, could Mr. Archer — that he made two efforts, and came back under my eye, like a mouse under the eye of a cat, with the engrossed bill in his hand. But his bread was at stake. At last, with that face, and countenance, and manner which only conscious guilt can inspire, he went off, his poverty,

not his will, consenting, and, before debate was finished, he comes with the bill from the Senate, which had then become a law, before it was decided whether the House would reconsider it at my motion or not, which motion [should have] nailed the bill to the table until it should be disposed of."

The bill was sent to President Monroe. He took the advice of all of his cabinet as to its constitutionality, as has appeared from Mr. Adams's journal. All the members having signified their opinion in its favor, he signed it, on the 6th of March, 1820, and it became a law.

The celebrated "Compromise provision" which thus settled, as was then supposed, forever, the character of the domestic institutions of Kansas and Nebraska, with regard to slavery, is in these words :

"SECT. 8. And be it further enacted, that in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  north, not included within the limits of the state contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be and hereby is forever prohibited."

By the treaty of boundary with Spain, the boundary between the United States and the Spanish or Mexican provinces is the western bank of the Sabine to the 32d degree of north latitude; thence a meridian line due north to the crossing of the Rio Roxo of Nachitoches or Red river;

thence following the course of the Rio Roxo to the meridian of  $100^{\circ}$  west; thence crossing the Red river by that meridian to the Arkansas; thence following the southern bank of the Arkansas to its source; thence north to the parallel of  $42^{\circ}$  N., thence by that parallel to the Pacific. An inspection of the map will show that some parts of Kanzas have been since added under the arrangements by which the United States acquired Texas and New Mexico.

The only change in the political arrangements for the territories made by Congress, after the act of 1820, was the remarkable act, which seems to have passed without comment, by which, on the 7th of June, 1836, the triangle between the Missouri and the west line of the State of Missouri was ceded to that state. By the "Compromise," this land was to be forever free from slavery. Slaves have, however, been held there ever since it was a part of Missouri, of which it is one of the richest parts. This was the first distinct violation of "the Compromise," and passed Congress without any opposition. The author "Lynceus," already alluded to, holds that the four thousand five hundred and fifty-eight slaves in that region, if they could bring suit for freedom, would be freed by a decision of the United States Court, under the act of March 6, 1820.

Meanwhile the Indian policy of the government has been gradually removing into these regions tribes from the east of the Mississippi. As early as 1803, Congress authorized the President to exchange tracts of land west of the Missis-

issippi for tracts east of it, owned by Indians. In 1825 the Kansas and Osage Indians, reserving some lands for themselves, which have been described, ceded to the United States all their claim to the lands on both sides of the Kansas river. In 1833, by the treaty alluded to in our account of the Pawnees, they ceded to the United States all their claims south of the Nebraska. Other smaller tribes ceded their claims to lands south of the Arkansas.

Into the lands thus acquired, the government, since 1830, has removed the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, Seminoles and Cherokees, who occupy the lands south of Kansas. Into Kansas and Nebraska have been removed those emigrant tribes already described.

The constant diminution of these tribes left the country, however, almost desert, as has been already stated. And as early as 1849, the Indian department suggested the expediency of new treaties with these tribes, which might open the country to settlements by the whites. In 1853 an act was introduced into Congress, which passed one house, providing for the organization of one territory over the whole region. This act contemplated an adherence to the Missouri Compromise. In the summer of that year Mr. Manypenny, the head of the Indian department, visited the country, held councils with most of the tribes, and made treaties with one or two of the smallest. He was generally unsuccessful. The neighboring states were already greatly interested in plans of emigration, and the Indians had obtained very exaggerated notions of the value of their land.

In this position were the affairs of the territory when Congress met in December, 1853. Of the celebrated debate which followed, we do not attempt any minute account. Its general character and many of its details are too familiar to readers of the present day to need repetition now, and a proper account of it for the pages of history would require more space, and a closer analysis of the motives and actions of living men, than can properly be given to such matters in this work. The following mere summary of motions and dates will enable the reader desirous of so doing to examine upon record the history of the act under which the territories of Nebraska and Kansas are to be organized.

In the Senate, 14th of December, 1853, two days after the appointment of the standing committees of the Senate, Mr. DODGE, of Iowa, according to previous notice, asked and obtained leave to introduce a bill to organize the territory of Nebraska, and the bill having been read a first and second time by unanimous consent, was referred to the committee on territories, consisting of Messrs. Douglas (chairman), Houston, Johnson, Bell, Jones of Iowa, and Everett. On the 4th of January, 1854, Mr. DOUGLAS, of Illinois, from this committee, reported back this bill with important amendments.

On the 16th of January, Mr. DIXON, of Kentucky, gave notice that, when the bill came up, he should move as an amendment an additional section repealing the eighth section of the act of March 6, 1820, and providing that citizens may

hold slaves in any territory, as if that act had not been passed.

On the 17th, Mr. Douglas gave notice that he should call up the bill on the ensuing Monday, and on the same day Mr. SUMNER, of Massachusetts, gave notice that he should then move as an amendment an additional section, declaring that the act does *not* abrogate or contravene the Missouri act restriction on the subject of slavery.

On the day named, January 23, Mr. Douglas reported from the committee on territories a substitute for the original bill submitted by him, and it was ordered to be printed.

The bill, as originally introduced by Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, provided that all that part of the territory of the United States included between the summit of the Rocky Mountains on the west, the states of Missouri and Iowa on the east, the  $43^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude on the north, and the territory of New Mexico and the parallel of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude on the south, should be organized into a temporary government, by the name of the Territory of Nebraska; but nothing in the act to be construed to impair the right of persons or property now pertaining to the Indians in that territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished by treaty between the United States and such Indians, or to include any territory which, by treaty with any Indian tribe, is not, without their consent, to be included within the territorial limits of any state or territory. The usual provision was made for the appointment of executive



officers in the new territory, and also for a territorial legislature, a judiciary, and a territorial delegate in the Congress of the United States.

The substitute before submitted changed somewhat, and described more in detail the boundary of the proposed territory, fixed the seat of government at Fort Leavenworth and contained the following proviso on the subject of slavery : —

Section 21. *And be it further enacted*, That in order to avoid all misconstruction, it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning of this Act, so far as the question of slavery is concerned, to carry into practical operation the following propositions and principles, established by the compromise measures of 1850, viz. : First, that all questions pertaining to slavery in the territories, and in the new states to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, through their appropriate representatives.

Second, that "all cases involving title to slaves," and "questions of personal freedom," are referred to the adjudication of the local tribunals, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Third, that the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States in respect to fugitives from service are to be carried into faithful execution in all the "organized territories," the same as in the states.

The substitute now reported provided for the creation of two territories, and Mr. Douglas said that this change met the views of the delegate from Iowa, the Missouri delegation in Congress, so far as he had been able to discover, and the agents who had been sent to Washington by the people of the territory. One section provided that

"All that part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits, except such portions thereof as are hereinafter expressly exempted from the operations of this act, to wit, Beginning at a point in the Missouri river where the fortieth parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence west on said parallel to the summit of the highlands separating the waters flowing into the Green river or Colorado of the West from the waters flowing into the Great Basin; thence northward on the said highlands to the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence on said summit northward to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude; thence west on said parallel to the western boundary of the territory of Minnesota; thence southward on said boundary to the Missouri river; thence down the main channel of said river to the place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby, created into a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Nebraska."

Another section in the substitute provided that

"All that part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits, except such portions thereof as are hereinafter expressly exempted from the operations of this act, to wit, Beginning at a point on the western boundary of the State of Missouri where the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence west on said parallel to the eastern boundary of New Mexico; thence north on said boundary to latitude thirty-eight; thence following said boundary westward to the summit of the highlands dividing the waters flowing into the Colorado of the West, or Green river, from the waters flowing into the Great Basin; thence northward on said summit to the fortieth parallel of latitude; thence east on said parallel to the western boundary of the State of Missouri; thence south with the western boundary of said state to the place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby, created into a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Kansas."

The section providing for the election of a delegate was

amended by adding to the words "that the constitution, and all laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said territory as elsewhere in the United States," the following :

"Except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, and is declared inoperative."

By the time that the debate upon the bill in this form was at last commenced in the Senate, on the 30th of January, great excitement pervaded many parts of the North on the subject of the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, and an address had been issued by Messrs. Chase and Sumner, of the Senate, and several members of the House of Representatives, denouncing the measure in the strongest terms, "as a gross violation of a sacred pledge; as a criminal betrayal of precious rights; as part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region emigrants from the old world, and free laborers from our own states, and to convert it into a dreary region of despotism, inhabited by masters and slaves."

Mr. Douglas opened his argument for the bill by a denunciation of this address and its authors, no less violent and personal than the document itself, and from this commencement till its close long after in the other house, the struggle in Congress on the one side and the other with regard to this measure, heated and made more intense by constant

appeals from without, made by memorials, public meetings, and newspaper arguments, was carried on with a vehemence and passion rarely exhibited in deliberative bodies. The discussion was continued in the Senate until the first of March, when nearly every Senator had spoken upon the bill. On that day it was amended, on motion of Mr. BADGER, of North Carolina, so as to provide that it should not "revive or put in force any law or regulation which may have existed prior to the act of March, 1820, either protecting, establishing, prohibiting, or abolishing slavery;" and also on motion of Mr. CLAYTON, of Delaware, so that the proviso on the right of suffrage, etc., should read, "that the right of suffrage shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States." The bill thus amended was then ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, by a vote of twenty-nine to twelve.

The next day, March 3d, the bill came up for its final passage, and a number of Senators took occasion to make further speeches upon it; so that the session was protracted till nearly five o'clock in the morning, when the question was taken, and the bill passed, — yeas thirty-seven, nays fourteen.

On the 21st the bill came up in the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES in order. It was read twice by its title, and then referred, after an animated debate, to the committee of the whole. As more than fifty bills and resolves had precedence of it, this reference, which prevailed by a vote of

one hundred and ten to ninety-five, was pronounced, by its friends, an "indirect defeat" of it. This was not its end, however. The excitement and interest in Congress and throughout the country were continually on the increase, and all the members were prepared for an ardent and protracted struggle, when, on the 8th of May, Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, moved that that House resolve itself into the committee of the whole, with the view of laying aside all business until the committee reach the Nebraska-Kansas bill. This — not without objection — was done, and nearly twenty bills on the calendar having been, one by one, laid aside, the committee took up the "Bill to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas." This was a bill formerly reported by the territorial committee of the House, and not the Senate bill; but Mr. Richardson immediately moved as a substitute a new bill, which was the Senate bill, with the omission of Mr. Clayton's amendment, just above noted, and a few verbal amendments.

The question being in this position, was discussed in committee of the whole on that day and the two following, and on the 11th Mr. Richardson, according to notice, introduced a resolution closing the debate on the ensuing day. This proposition to cut off at once a discussion regarded as of so much importance, excited the strongest feeling, and all the methods in the power of a minority to stave off taking a question were adopted, in a session continued for thirty-six

hours, when the House adjourned, after midnight, on the 12th. On the next day Mr. Richardson expressed a willingness to modify his motion, and on Monday, the 15th, a resolution was passed, directing that the vote should be taken on Saturday, May 20th.

The debate was continued throughout the week, and on Saturday the committee proceeded to the consideration of amendments proposed, with five-minute speeches under the rule. Mr. Richardson offered a substitute for the whole bill. Pending the discussion of amendments to this, the House adjourned to the next Monday. On that day, after many amendments had been proposed, and the business of the committee of the whole had become much involved by various questions of order, Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, a friend of the bill, moved to strike out the *enacting clause*. This motion takes place of all motions to amend, and if carried is considered equivalent to a rejection. The friends of the bill voted for this motion in committee, in order to cut off amendments, but when that fact was reported to the House they refused to adopt the recommendation of the committee of the whole, replaced the enacting clause, and Mr. Richardson proposed his substitute. This was adopted by a vote of one hundred and fifteen to ninety. The bill was then ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, by a vote of one hundred and twelve to ninety-nine, and was finally passed, by a vote of one

hundred and thirteen to one hundred, on the same day, May 22, 1854.

The bill, as it thus went back to the Senate, was in the same form as when it left that body, excepting that Mr. Clayton's amendment, which omitted from the class of those entitled to vote and to hold office, "those who shall have declared on oath their intention to become citizens of the United States, and shall have taken oath to support the constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act," had been struck out by the House. In the Senate it was again debated two days, when a motion to restore Mr. Clayton's amendment (leaving only citizens of the United States capable of voting or holding office) was lost, yeas seven, nays forty-one; and the bill passed to a third reading, thirty-five to thirteen, and was finally passed on the 25th of May.

It received the signature of the President, and became a law, May 30th, 1854, in the words given in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### AN ACT TO ORGANIZE THE TERRITORIES OF NEBRASKA AND KANZAS.

#### BOUNDARY OF NEBRASKA.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That all that part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits, except such portions thereof as are hereinafter expressly exempted from the operations of this act, to wit, beginning at a point in the Missouri river where the fortieth parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence west on said parallel to the east boundary of the territory of Utah, on the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence on said summit northward to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude; thence east on said parallel to the western boundary of the territory of Minnesota; thence southward on said boundary to the Missouri river; thence down the main channel of said river to the place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby, created into a temporary government by



the name of the Territory of Nebraska; and when admitted as a state or states, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission: *Provided*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to inhibit the government of the United States from dividing said territory into two or more territories, in such manner and at such times as Congress shall deem convenient and proper, or from attaching any portion of said territory to any other state or territory of the United States: *Provided further*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of person or property now pertaining to the Indians in said territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished by treaty between the United States and such Indians, or to include any territory which, by treaty with any Indian tribe, is not, without the consent of said tribe, to be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any state or territory; but all such territory shall be excepted out of the boundaries, and constitute no part of the territory of Nebraska, until said tribe shall signify their assent to the President of the United States to be included within the said territory of Nebraska; or to affect the authority of the government of the United States to make any regulation respecting such Indians, their lands, property, or other rights, by treaty, law, or otherwise, which it would have

been competent to the government to make if this act had never passed.

GOVERNOR.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the executive power and authority in and over said territory of Nebraska shall be vested in a governor, who shall hold his office for four years, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States. The governor shall reside within said territory, and shall be commander-in-chief of the militia thereof. He may grant pardons and respites for offences against the laws of said territory, and reprieves for offences against the laws of the United States, until the decision of the President can be made known thereon; he shall commission all officers who shall be appointed to office under the laws of the said territory, and shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

SECRETARY.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be a secretary of said territory, who shall reside therein, and hold his office for five years, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States; he shall record and preserve all the laws and proceedings of the legislative assembly hereinafter constituted, and all the acts and proceedings of the governor in his executive department; he shall transmit one copy of the laws and journals of the leg-

islative assembly within thirty days after the end of each session, and one copy of the executive proceedings and official correspondence semi-annually, on the first day of January and July in each year, to the President of the United States, and two copies of the laws to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to be deposited in the libraries of Congress; and in case of the death, removal, resignation, or absence of the governor from the territory, the secretary shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and required to execute and perform all the powers and duties of the governor during such vacancy or absence, or until another governor shall be duly appointed and qualified to fill such vacancy.

## LEGISLATURE.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the legislative power and authority of said territory shall be vested in the governor and a legislative assembly. The legislative assembly shall consist of a council and house of representatives. The council shall consist of thirteen members, having the qualifications of voters, as hereinafter prescribed, whose term of service shall continue two years. The house of representatives shall, at its first session, consist of twenty-six members, possessing the same qualifications as prescribed for members of the council, and whose term of service shall continue one year. The number of representatives may be increased by the legislative assembly, from time to time, in

proportion to the increase of qualified voters : *Provided*, That the whole number shall never exceed thirty-nine. An apportionment shall be made, as nearly equal as practicable, among the several counties or districts, for the election of the council and representatives, giving to each section of the territory representation in the ratio of its qualified voters as nearly as may be. And the members of the council and of the house of representatives shall reside in, and be inhabitants of, the district or county, or counties, for which they may be elected, respectively. Previous to the first election, the governor shall cause a census, or enumeration of the inhabitants and qualified voters of the several counties and districts of the territory, to be taken, by such persons and in such mode as the governor shall designate and appoint ; and the persons so appointed shall receive a reasonable compensation therefor. And the first election shall be held at such time and places, and be conducted in such manner, both as to the persons who shall superintend such election and the returns thereof, as the governor shall appoint and direct ; and he shall at the same time declare the number of members of the council and house of representatives to which each of the counties or districts shall be entitled under this act. The persons having the highest number of legal votes in each of said council districts for members of the council, shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected to the council ; and the persons having the highest number of legal votes for the house of repre-

sentatives, shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected members of said house: *Provided*, That in case two or more persons voted for shall have an equal number of votes, and in case a vacancy shall otherwise occur in either branch of the legislative assembly, the governor shall order a new election; and the persons thus elected to the legislative assembly shall meet at such place and on such day as the governor shall appoint; but thereafter, the time, place, and manner of holding and conducting all elections by the people, and the apportioning the representation in the several counties or districts to the council and house of representatives, according to the number of qualified voters, shall be prescribed by law, as well as the day of the commencement of the regular sessions of the legislative assembly: *Provided*, That no session in any one year shall exceed the term of forty days, except the first session, which may continue sixty days.

## RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE, &amp;C.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That every free white inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years, who shall be an actual resident of said territory, and shall possess the qualifications hereinafter prescribed, shall be entitled to vote at the first election, and shall be eligible to any office within the said territory; but the qualifications of voters, and of holding office, at all subsequent elections, shall be such as shall be prescribed by the legislative assem-

bly : *Provided*, That the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised only by the citizens of the United States, and those who shall have declared, on oath, their intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act : *And provided further*, That no officer, soldier, seaman or marine, or other person in the army or navy of the United States, or attached to troops in the service of the United States, shall be allowed to vote or hold office in said territory, by reason of being on service therein.

LEGISLATIVE POWER : VETO.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That the legislative power of the territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act; but no law shall be passed interfering with primary disposal of the soil; no tax shall be imposed upon the property of the United States; nor shall the lands or other property of non-residents be taxed higher than the lands or other property of residents. Every bill which shall have passed the council and house of representatives of the said territory, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the governor of the territory; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to the house in which it originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to re-consider it. If, after such re-consideration,

two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be re-considered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, to be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the governor within three days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the assembly, by adjournment, prevents its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

## TOWN, DISTRICT AND COUNTY OFFICERS.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That all township, district and county officers, not herein otherwise provided for, shall be appointed or elected, as the case may be, in such manner as shall be provided by the governor and legislative assembly of the territory of Nebraska. The governor shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the legislative council, appoint all officers not herein otherwise provided for; and, in the first instance, the governor alone may appoint all said officers, who shall hold their offices until the end of the first session of the legislative assembly; and shall lay off the necessary districts for members of the council and house of representatives, and all other officers.

## MEMBERS NOT TO HOLD OFFICE.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That no member of

the legislative assembly shall hold, or be appointed to, any office which shall have been created, or the salary or emoluments of which shall have been increased, while he was a member, during the term for which he was elected, and for one year after the expiration of such term; but this restriction shall not be applicable to members of the first legislative assembly; and no person holding a commission or appointment under the United States, except post-masters, shall be a member of the legislative assembly, or hold any office under the government of said territory.

#### JUDICIARY.

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That the judicial power of said territory shall be vested in a supreme court, district courts, probate courts, and in justices of the peace. The supreme court shall consist of a chief justice, and two associate justices, any two of whom shall constitute a quorum, and who shall hold a term at the seat of government of said territory annually, and they shall hold their offices during the period of four years, and until their successor shall be appointed and qualified. The said territory shall be divided into three judicial districts, and a district court shall be held in each of the said districts by one of the justices of the supreme court, at such times and places as may be prescribed by law; and said judges shall, after their appointments, respectively, reside in the districts which shall be assigned them. The jurisdiction of the several courts herein provided for, both appellate and original, and that



of the probate courts and of justices of the peace, shall be as limited by law: *Provided*, That justices of the peace shall not have jurisdiction of any matter in controversy, when the title or boundaries of land may be in dispute, or where the debt or sum claimed shall exceed one hundred dollars; and the said supreme and district courts, respectively, shall possess chancery as well as common law jurisdiction. Each district court, or the judge thereof, shall appoint its clerk, who shall also be the register in chancery, and shall keep his office at the place where the court may be held. Writs of error, bills of exception, and appeals, shall be allowed in all cases from the final decisions of said district courts to the supreme court, under such regulations as may be prescribed by law; but in no case removed to the supreme court shall trial by jury be allowed in said court. The supreme court, or the justices thereof, shall appoint its own clerk, and every clerk shall hold his office at the pleasure of the court for which he shall have been appointed. Writs of error, and appeals from the final decisions of said supreme court, shall be allowed, and may be taken to the supreme court of the United States, in the same manner and under the same regulations as from the circuit courts of the United States, where the value of the property, or the amount in controversy, to be ascertained by the oath or affirmation of either party, or other competent witness, shall exceed one thousand dollars; except only that in all cases involving title to slaves, the said writs of error

or appeals shall be allowed and decided by the said supreme court, without regard to the value of the matters, property, or title in controversy; and except also that a writ of error or appeal shall also be allowed to the supreme court of the United States, from the decision of the said supreme court created by this act, or of any judge thereof, or of the district courts created by this act, or of any judge thereof, upon any writ of habeas corpus, involving the question of personal freedom; *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to apply to or affect the provisions of the "act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," approved February twelfth, seventeen hundred and ninety-three, and the "act to amend and supplementary to the aforesaid act," approved September eighteen, eighteen hundred and fifty; and each of the said district courts shall have and exercise the same jurisdiction in all cases arising under the constitution and laws of the United States as is vested in the circuit and district courts of the United States; and the said supreme and district courts of said territory, and the respective judges thereof, shall and may grant writs of habeas corpus in all cases in which the same are granted by the judges of the United States in the district of Columbia; and the first six days of every term of said courts, or so much thereof as shall be necessary, shall be appropriated to the trial of causes arising under the said constitution and laws, and writs of error and appeal in all such cases shall be made to

the supreme court of said territory, the same as in other cases. The said clerk shall receive, in all such cases, the same fees which the clerks of the district courts of Utah territory now receive for similar services.

## FUGITIVE SLAVES.

SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That the provisions of an act entitled "An act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," approved February twelve, seventeen hundred and ninety-three, and the provisions of the act entitled "An act to amend, and supplementary to, the aforesaid act," approved September eighteen, eighteen hundred and fifty, be, and the same are hereby, declared to extend to and be in full force within the limits of said territory of Nebraska.

## TERRITORIAL ATTORNEY.

SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be appointed an attorney for said territory, who shall continue in office for four years, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President, and who shall receive the same fees and salary as the attorney of the United States for the present territory of Utah. There shall also be a marshal for the territory appointed, who shall hold his office for four years, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner

removed by the President, and who shall execute all processes issuing from the said courts when exercising their jurisdiction as circuit and district courts of the United States; he shall perform the duties, be subject to the same regulations and penalties, and be entitled to the same fees as the marshal of the district court of the United States for the present territory of Utah, and shall, in addition, be paid two hundred dollars annually as a compensation for extra services.

APPOINTMENTS, SALARIES, &C.

SEC. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That the governor, secretary, chief justice, and associate justices, attorney, and marshal, shall be nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed by the President of the United States. The governor and secretary to be appointed as aforesaid, shall, before they act as such, respectively take an oath or affirmation before the district judge or some justice of the peace in the limits of said territory, duly authorized to administer oaths and affirmations by the laws now in force therein, or before the chief justice or some associate justice of the supreme court of the United States, to support the constitution of the United States, and faithfully to discharge the duties of their respective offices, which said oaths, when so taken, shall be certified by the person by whom the same shall have been taken; and such certificates shall be received and recorded by the said secretary among the executive proceedings; and the chief justice and associ-

ate justices, and all other civil officers in said territory, before they act as such, shall take a like oath or affirmation before the said governor or secretary, or some judge or justice of the peace of the territory who may be duly commissioned and qualified, which said oath or affirmation shall be certified and transmitted by the person taking the same to the secretary, to be by him recorded as aforesaid; and, afterwards, the like oath or affirmation shall be taken, certified, and recorded, in such manner and form as may be prescribed by law. The governor shall receive an annual salary of five thousand five hundred dollars. The chief justice and associate justices shall each receive an annual salary of two thousand dollars. The secretary shall receive an annual salary of two thousand dollars. The said salaries shall be paid quarter-yearly, from the dates of the respective appointments, at the treasury of the United States; but no such payment shall be made until said officers shall have entered upon the duties of their respective appointments. The members of the legislative assembly shall be entitled to receive three dollars each per day during their attendance at the sessions thereof, and three dollars each for every twenty miles' travel in going to and returning from the said sessions, estimated according to the nearest usually travelled route; and an additional allowance of three dollars shall be paid to the presiding officer of each house for each day he shall so preside. And a chief clerk, one assistant clerk, a sergeant-at-arms, and door-keeper, may be chosen for each house; and the chief

clerk shall receive four dollars per day, and the said other officers three dollars per day, during the session of the legislative assembly; but no other officers shall be paid by the United States: *Provided*, That there shall be but one session of the legislature annually, unless, on an extraordinary occasion, the governor shall think proper to call the legislature together. There shall be appropriated, annually, the usual sum, to be expended by the governor, to defray the contingent expenses of the territory, including the salary of a clerk of the executive department; and there shall be appropriated, annually, a sufficient sum, to be expended by the secretary of the territory, and upon an estimate to be made by the secretary of the treasury of the United States, to defray the expenses of the legislative assembly, the printing of the laws, and other incidental expenses; and the governor and secretary of the territory shall, in the disbursement of all moneys entrusted to them, be governed solely by the instructions of the secretary of the treasury of the United States, and shall, semi-annually, account to the said secretary for the manner in which the aforesaid moneys shall have been expended; and no expenditure shall be made by said legislative assembly for objects not specially authorized by the acts of Congress making the appropriations, nor beyond the sums thus appropriated for such objects.

#### SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

SEC. 13. *And be it further enacted*, That the legislative assembly of the territory of Nebraska shall hold its

first session at such time and place in said territory as the governor thereof shall appoint and direct; and at said first session, or as soon thereafter as they shall deem expedient, the governor and legislative assembly shall proceed to locate and establish the seat of government for said territory at such place as they may deem eligible; which place, however, shall thereafter be subject to be changed by the said governor and legislative assembly.

DELEGATE IN CONGRESS; LAWS OF UNITED STATES IN FORCE;  
QUESTION OF SLAVERY.

SEC. 14. *And be it further enacted,* That a delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States, to serve for the term of two years, who shall be a citizen of the United States, may be elected by the voters qualified to elect members of the legislative assembly, who shall be entitled to the same rights and privileges as are exercised and enjoyed by the delegates from the several other territories of the United States to the said House of Representatives, but the delegate first elected shall hold his seat only during the term of the congress to which he shall be elected. The first election shall be held at such time and places, and be conducted in such manner, as the governor shall appoint and direct; and at all subsequent elections the times, places, and manner of holding the elections, shall be prescribed by law. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected; and a certificate thereof shall

be given accordingly. That the constitution and all laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said territory of Nebraska as elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March sixth, eighteen hundred and twenty, which, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the states and territories, as recognized by the legislation of eighteen hundred and fifty, commonly called the compromise measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to revive or put in force any law or regulation which may have existed prior to the act of sixth March, eighteen hundred and twenty, either protecting, establishing, prohibiting, or abolishing slavery.

●  
PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND LIBRARIES.

SEC. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall hereafter be appropriated, as has been customary for the territorial governments, a sufficient amount, to be expended under the direction of the said governor of the territory of



Nebraska, not exceeding the sums heretofore appropriated for similar objects, for the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government, and for the purchase of a library, to be kept at the seat of government for the use of the governor, legislative assembly, judges of the supreme court, secretary, marshal, and attorney of said territory, and such other persons, and under such regulations, as shall be prescribed by law.

#### LAND RESERVED FOR SCHOOLS.

SEC. 16. *And be it further enacted*, That when the lands in the said territory shall be surveyed under the direction of the government of the United States, preparatory to bringing the same into market, sections numbered sixteen and thirty-six in each township in said territory shall be, and the same are hereby, reserved for the purpose of being applied to schools in said territory, and in the states and territories hereafter to be erected out of the same.

#### GOVERNOR MAY ASSIGN JUDICIAL DISTRICTS.

SEC. 17. *And be it further enacted*, That, until otherwise provided by law, the governor of said territory may define the judicial districts of said territory, and assign the judges who may be appointed for said territory to the several districts; and also appoint the times and places for holding courts in the several counties or subdivisions in each of said judicial districts by proclamation, to be issued by him; but

the legislative assembly, at their first or any subsequent session, may organize, alter, or modify such judicial districts, and assign the judges, and alter the times and places of holding the courts, as to them shall seem proper and convenient.

OFFICERS GIVE SECURITY FOR PUBLIC MONEY.

SEC. 18. *And be it further enacted*, That all officers to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for the territory of Nebraska, who, by virtue of the provisions of any law now existing, or which may be enacted during the present congress, are required to give security for moneys that may be entrusted with them for disbursement, shall give such security, at such time and place, and in such manner, as the secretary of the treasury may prescribe.

BOUNDARY OF KANZAS.

SEC. 19. *And be it further enacted*, That all that part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits, except such portions thereof as are hereinafter expressly exempted from the operations of this act, to wit, beginning at a point on the western boundary of the state of Missouri, where the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence west on said parallel to the eastern boundary of New Mexico; thence north on said

boundary to latitude thirty-eight; thence following said boundary westward to the east boundary of the territory of Utah, on the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence northward on said summit to the fortieth parallel of latitude; thence east on said parallel to the western boundary of the state of Missouri; thence south with the western boundary of said state to the place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby, created into a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Kansas; and when admitted as a state or states, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission: *Provided*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to inhibit the government of the United States from dividing said territory into two or more territories, in such manner and at such times as Congress shall deem convenient and proper, or from attaching any portion of said territory to any other state or territory of the United States: *Provided further*, that nothing in this act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of persons or property now pertaining to the Indians in said territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished by treaty between the United States and such Indians, or to include any territory which, by treaty with any Indian tribe, is not, without the consent of said tribe, to be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any state or

territory ; but all such territory shall be excepted out of the boundaries, and constitute no part of the territory of Kansas, until said tribe shall signify their assent to the President of the United States to be included within the said territory of Kansas, or to affect the authority of the government of the United States to make any regulation respecting such Indians, their lands, property, or other rights, by treaty, law, or otherwise, which it would have been competent to the government to make if this act had never passed.

[Here follow in the act sections *nineteen* to *thirty-six*, inclusive, which, being word for word the same as sections *two* to *seventeen*, excepting that they refer to the territory of Kansas, are here omitted.]

#### INDIAN RIGHTS RESERVED.

SEC. 37. *And be it further enacted*, That all treaties, laws, and other engagements made by the government of the United States with the Indian tribes inhabiting the territories embraced within this act, shall be faithfully and rigidly observed, notwithstanding anything contained in this act ; and that the existing agencies and superintendencies of said Indians be continued<sup>f</sup> with the same powers and duties which are now prescribed by law, except that the President

of the United States may, at his discretion, change the location of the office of superintendent.

LINN BOYD,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

D. R. ATCHISON,

President of the Senate *pro tempore*.

Approved May 30th, 1854.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

## CHAPTER IX.

Emigration to Kansas — The Emigrant Aid Companies.

THE "Missouri Compromise" had settled the question of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, "*forever.*" At the end of a generation this settlement was set aside by the act establishing their territorial governments.

So far as there is any especial principle regulating the provisions of that act, it is its intention of leaving the institutions of the territories to those who may inhabit them. This principle is familiarly called "the principle of squatter sovereignty," in language attributed to General Cass.

To carry out this principle fairly, it would be, of course, necessary that no restriction of any kind should be placed upon the emigration into these territories.

It has appeared, however, from the whole experience of the United States, that there is scarcely any disposition on the part of emigrants from Europe, or from the Northern States, to move into regions where the institution of slavery is permitted. Free labor will not place itself side by side

with slave labor, and the great preponderance of northern and foreign emigration has always been to the free states and territories of the North-west.

As the discussion upon the Nebraska and Kansas bill proceeded, it became evident, from the very nature of the case, that there was a desire of extending slavery into Kansas, the southern territory of the two. There was no need of repealing the Missouri Compromise, except to gratify this desire.

It was just as evident, that the great mass of the emigration would turn away from Kansas, in proportion as there was a probability of the establishment of slavery there. No single man or single family, unwilling to enter a slave state, would trust themselves, unsupported, in a territory which would probably become one.

To secure to Kansas, therefore, a fair proportion of the western emigration; to secure for the principle of "squatter sovereignty" a fair trial; and to make sure that the institutions, both of Kansas and Nebraska, should be digested by settlers of every class; it became necessary that some organization of the great current of western emigration should encourage each emigrant from the North, by showing him how strong a force was behind him and around him.

Some organization of western emigration was also necessary on pure grounds of humanity. The immense pilgrimage of four hundred thousand persons, arriving annually in

America from Europe, has thus far scarcely attracted the attention of the general government. It has cared for their health on shipboard, but it makes no provision for them after their arrival. The decisions of its courts have even harassed, very considerably, the police and hospital provisions made for them by the maritime states. These states succeed, however, in taxing the emigrant on his arrival, that they may provide a fund for the care of the emigrant body. With this, the supervision of government ceases entirely; and those foreign emigrants who wish to go to the West — perhaps one half of the whole number — are left, scarcely protected by the public, to the rapacity of all unprincipled persons, frequently that of their own countrymen, who choose to prey on their ignorance of our geography, our customs, our language, and of their own rights and necessities. In the State of New York there is even a system of slang language in use by the various harpies who feed this emigration. So various are the forms of fraud that they require a dialect of their own. Even the humane legislation of New York has in vain attempted to break up this system. Through the summer of 1854 foreign emigrants have been hurried to the West, so closely and inhumanly packed away in trains of cars that they were the first victims of cholera, in the western cities to which they came, and have furnished to that disease a constant supply of victims.



This condition of the foreign emigration westward also pointed to the necessity of an organization of emigration.

The activity of the Northern States, at the present time, in the institution of "Emigrant Aid Companies," and "leagues" and "associations" auxiliary to such companies, springs from one or both of these considerations. The number of persons in the Northern and North-western States who move to some home westward of that they occupy, is probably three hundred thousand a year, including the immense foreign contingent. Evidently, this movement is so large as to demand the most careful oversight of the travelling arrangements made for it; and as evidently, also, a small proportion of it only will be enough to give Kansas the population requisite for her admission as a state into the Union.

Influenced by both the considerations spoken of, Mr. Eli Thayer, a member of the Massachusetts house of representatives, circulated a petition, in the month of March, 1854, for the incorporation, by the General Court of Massachusetts, of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company. The petition was at once granted by the Legislature, and a charter given, of which the first section follows:

"SEC. 1. Benjamin C. Clark, Isaac Livermore, Charles Allen, Isaac Davis, William G. Bates, Stephen C. Phillips, Charles C. Hazewell, Alexander H. Bullock, Henry Wilson, James S. Whitney, Samuel E. Sewall, Samuel G. Howe, James Holland, Moses Kimball, James D. Green,

Francis W. Bird, Otis Clapp, Anson Burlingame, Eli Thayer, and Otis Rich, their associates, successors and assigns, are hereby made a corporation, by the name of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, for the purpose of assisting emigrants to settle in the West; and, for this purpose, they have all the powers and privileges, and be subject to all the duties, restrictions, and liabilities, set forth in the thirty-eighth and forty-fourth chapters of the Revised Statutes."

The charter was signed by the Governor on the 26th day of April, and took effect immediately. The persons named in it, and others interested, met at the State House, in Boston, on the 4th of May, accepted the charter, and appointed a committee to report a plan of organization and system of operations. The committee consisted of Eli Thayer, Alexander H. Bullock, and E. E. Hale of Worcester, Richard Hildreth and Otis Clapp of Boston, who submitted the following report at an adjourned meeting:

#### "REPORT.

"The objects of this corporation are apparent in its name. The immense emigration to America from Europe introduces into our ports a very large number of persons eager to pass westward. The fertility of our western regions, and the cheapness of the public lands, induce many of the native-born citizens of the old states also to emigrate thither.

At the present time, public and social considerations of the gravest character render it desirable to settle the territories west of Missouri and Iowa; and these considerations are largely increasing the amount of westward emigration.

“The foreign arrivals in America last year were four hundred thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven. In the same year, the emigration to western states, of Americans and foreigners, must have amounted to much more than two hundred thousand persons. The emigration thither this year will be larger still. And from the older western states large numbers are removing into new territory.

“Persons who are familiar with the course of movement of this large annual throng of emigrants know that under the arrangements now existing they suffer at every turn. The frauds practised upon them by ‘runners,’ and other agents of transporting lines in the state of New York, amount to a stupendous system of knavery, which has not been broken up even by the patient endeavors of the state officers, and by very stringent state legislation. The complete ignorance as to our customs in which the foreign emigrant finds himself, and, in more than half the foreign emigration, his complete ignorance of our language, subject him to every fraud, and to constant accident. It is in the face of every conceivable inconvenience that the country receives every year four hundred thousand foreigners into its seaports, and sends the larger portion of them to its western country.

“The inconveniences and dangers to health to which the pioneer is subject who goes out alone or with his family, only in making a new settlement, are familiar to every American.

“The Emigrant Aid Company has been incorporated to protect emigrants, as far as may be, from such inconveniences. Its duty is to *organize emigration to the west and bring it into a system*. This duty, which should have been attempted long ago, is particularly essential now, in the critical position of the western territories.

“The legislature has granted a charter, with a capital sufficient for these purposes. This capital is not to exceed \$5,000,000. In no single year are assessments to a larger amount than ten per cent. to be called for. The corporators believe that if the company be organized at once, as soon as the subscription to the stock amounts to \$1,000,000, the annual income to be derived from that amount, and the subsequent subscriptions, may be so appropriated as to render most essential service to the emigrant, to plant a free state in Kansas, to the lasting advantage of the country, and to return a very handsome profit to the stockholders upon their investment.

“1. The emigrant suffers whenever he goes alone into his new home. He suffers from the frauds of others; from his own ignorance of the system of travel, and of the country where he settles; and, again, from his want of

support from neighbors, which results in the impossibility of any combined assistance, or of any division of labor.

“The Emigrant Aid Company will relieve him from all these embarrassments by sending out emigrants in companies, and establishing them in considerable numbers. They will locate these where they please on arrival in their new home, and receive from government their titles. The company propose to carry them to their homes more cheaply than they could otherwise go, to enable them to establish themselves with the least inconvenience, and to provide the most important prime necessities of a new colony. It will provide shelter and food at the lowest prices after the arrival of emigrants, while they make the arrangements necessary for their new homes. It will render all the assistance which the information of its agents can give. And, by establishing emigrants in large numbers in the territories, it will give them the power of using at once those social influences which radiate from the church, the school, and the press, in the organization and development of a community.

“For these purposes it is recommended, first, that the directors contract immediately, with some one of the competing lines of travel, for the conveyance of twenty thousand persons from Massachusetts to that place in the west which the directors shall select for their first settlement.

“It is believed that passage may be obtained, in so large a contract, at half the price paid by individuals. We recom-

mend that emigrants receive the full advantage of this diminution of price, and that they be forwarded in companies of two hundred, as they apply, at these reduced rates of travel.

"2. It is recommended that, at such points as the directors select for places of settlement, they shall at once construct a boarding-house or receiving-house, in which three hundred persons may receive temporary accommodation on their arrival; and that the number of such houses be enlarged as necessity may dictate. The new comers or their families may thus be provided for in the necessary interval which elapses while they are making their selection of a location.

"3. It is recommended that the directors procure and send forward steam saw-mills, grist-mills, and such other machines as shall be of constant service in a new settlement, which cannot, however, be purchased or carried out conveniently by individual settlers. These machines may be leased or run by the company's agents. At the same time, it is desirable that a printing press be sent out, and a weekly newspaper established. This would be the organ of the company's agents; would extend information regarding its settlement, and be, from the very first, an index of that love of freedom and of good morals which it is to be hoped may characterize the state now to be formed.

"4. It is recommended that the company's agents locate, and take up for the company's benefit the sections of land

in which the boarding-houses and mills are located, and no others. And, further, that whenever the territory shall be organized as a free state, the directors shall dispose of all its interests there, replace by the sales the money laid out, declare a dividend to the stockholders, and —

“5. That they then select a new field, and make similar arrangements for the settlement and organization of another free state of this Union.

“II. With the advantages attained by such a system of effort, the territory selected as the scene of operations would, it is believed, at once fill up with free inhabitants. There is reason to suppose that several thousand men of New England origin propose to emigrate under the auspices of some such arrangement this very summer. Of the whole emigration from Europe, amounting to some four hundred thousand persons, there can be no difficulty in inducing thirty or forty thousand to take the same direction. Applications from German agents have already been made to members of the company. We have also intimations, in correspondence from the free states of the west, of a wide-spread desire there, among those who know what it is to settle a new country, to pass on, if such an organization can be made, into that now thrown open. An emigrant company of those intending to go has been formed in Worcester county, and others in other states.

“In view of the establishment by such agencies of a new free state in that magnificent region, it is unnecessary to

dwell in detail on the advantages which this enterprise holds out to the country at large.

“It determines in the right way the institutions of the unsettled territories, in less time than the discussion of them has required in Congress. It opens to those who are in want in the eastern states a home and a competence, without the suffering hitherto incident to emigration. For the company is the pioneer, and provides, before the settler arrives, the conveniences which he first requires. Such a removal of an over-crowded population is one of the greatest advantages to eastern cities. Again, the enterprise opens commercial advantages to the commercial states, just in proportion to the population which it creates, of free men who furnish a market to our manufactures and imports. Whether the new line of states shall be free states or slave states, is a question deeply interesting to those who are to provide the manufactures for their consumption. Especially will it prove an advantage to Massachusetts if she create the new state by her foresight, — supply the first necessities to its inhabitants, and open in the outset communications between their homes and her ports and factories.

“In return for these advantages, which the company’s rapid and simple effort affords to the emigrant and to the country, its stockholders receive that satisfaction, ranked by Lord Bacon among the very highest, of becoming founders of states,\* and, more than this, states which are prosperous

\* See Mr. Everett’s speech on the Nebraska Bill.



and free. They secure satisfaction by an investment which promises large returns at no distant day.

“Under the plan proposed, it will be but two or three years before the company can dispose of its property in the territory first occupied, and reimburse itself for its first expenses. At that time, in a state of seventy thousand inhabitants, it will possess several reservations of six hundred and forty acres each, on which its boarding-houses and mills stand, and the churches and school-houses which it has rendered necessary. From these centres will the settlements of the state have radiated. In other words, these points will then be the large commercial positions of the new state. If there were only one such, its value, after the region should be so far peopled, would make a very large dividend to the company which sold it, besides restoring its original capital, with which to enable it to attempt the same adventure elsewhere.

“It is to be remembered that all accounts agree that the region of Kansas is the most desirable part of America now open to the emigrant. It is accessible in five days continuous travel from Boston. Its crops are very bountiful, its soil being well adapted to the staples of Virginia and Kentucky, and especially to the growth of hemp. In its eastern section the woodland and prairie-land intermix, in proportions very well adapted for the purposes of the settler. Its mineral resources, especially its coal, in the central and western parts, are inexhaustible. A steamboat is already plying on the Kansas river, and the territory has uninterrupted steam-

boat communication with New Orleans, and all the tributaries of the Mississippi river. All the overland emigration to California and Oregon, by any of the easier routes, passes of necessity through its limits. Whatever roads are built westward must begin in this territory. For it is here that the emigrant leaves the Missouri river. Of late years the demand for provisions and breadstuffs, made by emigrants proceeding to California, has given to the inhabitants of the neighboring parts of Missouri a market at as good rates as they could have found in the Union.

“It is impossible that such a region should not fill up rapidly. The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company proposes to give confidence to settlers, by giving system to emigration. By dispelling the fears that Kansas will be a slave state, the company will remove the only bar which now hinders its occupation by free settlers. It is to be hoped that similar companies will be formed in other free states. The enterprise is of that character, that, for those who first enter it, the more competition the better.

“It is recommended that the first settlement made by the directors shall receive the name of that city in this Commonwealth which shall have subscribed most liberally to the capital stock of the company, in proportion to its last decennial valuation; and that the second settlement be named from the city next in order so subscribing.

“It is recommended that a meeting of the stockholders be called on the first Wednesday in June, to organize the com-

pany for one year; and that the corporators, at this time, make a temporary organization, with power to obtain subscriptions to the stock, and make any necessary preliminary arrangements.

“ELI THAYER,

*“For the Committee.”*

The capital stock of the Massachusetts company was originally fixed at \$5,000,000, from which it was proposed to collect an assessment of four per cent. for the operations of 1854, so soon as \$1,000,000 were subscribed. It subsequently proved that the provisions of the charter were not such as to satisfy all the parties interested, and the company finally organized on the 13th of June, under private articles of association, the management of its affairs being entrusted to three trustees: Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, Mr. Eli Thayer, and Mr. J. M. S. Williams, of Cambridge. These trustees have proceeded to collect subscriptions to the stock, to collect and circulate information regarding the territories, and to make negotiations for the passage of emigrants to the territory of Kansas, and for such provision as can be made for them there, under the general plan of the association.

It must be understood that this plan does not contemplate the purchase of land in large quantities. The company does not stand between the emigrant and the United States government. He may get his land as he can, as a squatter

or by purchase. The company only takes up such land as it needs for its central establishments. By providing cheap passage, — passage in companies, — and information to settlers; by establishing mills and other conveniences which need capital, the company gives such facilities to emigrants as capital can give, but does not interfere at all with their selection of land, except by the advice of the agents whom it has upon the ground.

A small party of about thirty men went forward, as a pioneer party of this company, on the 17th of July.

The Emigrant Aid Company of New York and Connecticut organized on the 18th of July, under a charter granted by the legislature of Connecticut at the session of the same summer. Its objects are of the same general character as those of the Boston company. Its affairs are in the hands of a board of twenty-seven trustees, who choose an executive committee of three for their immediate direction. The capital stock of this company is not to exceed five million dollars, to be raised in shares of five dollars each. Mr. Eli Thayer is president, Mr. R. N. Havens vice-president, and Mr. M. H. Grinnell treasurer of this company.

These two parent companies propose to send forward trains of emigrants to Kansas as rapidly as possible after the general arrangements for their cheap and safe conveyance have been made. They carry all who apply for tickets for the journey. It is not within the immediate power of two such companies to conduct a correspondence with every indi-

vidual who wishes to emigrate, nor to arrange that companies of neighbors shall go together, without the intervention of local societies, which shall take in hand the details of such arrangements. Local "leagues" or emigrant societies, for the detailed care of the arrangements of parties of emigrants, have been formed, therefore, in several of the large towns. There are such societies, auxiliary to the "Aid Companies," in New York, in Albany, in Rochester, and probably in other towns. It is greatly to be desired that the number of such auxiliaries may be enlarged. Each of them should appoint and pay a master of emigration, who may find out all those who wish to move westward in his neighborhood; make such arrangements with the Emigrant Aid Company that, if they wish, they can go together; and, in general, conduct their negotiations with the parent company, without subjecting each man to the necessity of writing himself, and for himself receiving a reply.

Side by side with the associations now described, the Union Emigration Society was organized in the city of Washington, "by such members of Congress and citizens generally as were opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and to the opening of Nebraska and Kansas to the introduction of slavery." This society is understood to have appointed agents in several states, for the purpose of calling public attention to its movements, and organizing auxiliary societies.

The operations of the two Emigrant Aid Companies, and

of the "leagues" auxiliary to them, are so completely in their infancy, that it is impossible to make a statement of their plans much more definite than that contained in the report of their first committee. To all applicants for passage they will be able to furnish passage tickets, of the first class, from Boston to Kansas, at an expense of twenty or twenty-five dollars. Passage with a simpler class of accommodations may probably be furnished for ten dollars. These rates are much lower than the regular rates of travel, and emigrants who take these tickets have the assurance of the company's guarantee that the tickets will be serviceable for their purpose, and that no further exactions for travel will be made on the way to Kansas. They will travel in parties of persons bound to the same home with themselves. They will arrive at a station of the company, where they will meet with friends, and receive such information and general assistance as it is in the power of the company to give them.

Applications have already been received from large numbers of persons from almost every one of the free states, and from some of the slave states, who wish to join in this emigration. The officers of several of the foreign benevolent societies have interested themselves in the operations of the companies, intending to direct to Kansas large bodies of European emigrants, as they arrive.

So soon as the heat of summer abates, parties of these emigrants are to move forward. A party from Conneaut-

ville, Pennsylvania, accompanies Mr. George W. Brown, who carries out a steam press and types, with which to establish the "Herald of Freedom" newspaper, in Kansas. A general interest in the movement has extended among mechanics of every craft; and, as the companies will, doubtless, soon establish mills, with steam or water power, at central and accessible positions, we may believe that even the first settlers will have around them, not merely the luxuries of a teeming soil, but even the conveniences of manufactures, near their own homes, with the arrangements of an advanced civilization.

Meanwhile, a rapid emigration has been going on into the territories, particularly into Kansas, quite independent of the Emigrant Aid Companies. During the close of the winter of 1853-54, it is said, large numbers of persons from north-western states collected in the towns on the eastern side of the Missouri, awaiting the opening of the territories, that they might go in and stake out their locations. As the spring opened, a rapid current of emigration began. At first, the northern settlers went generally into Nebraska, but so soon as it was known that determined and combined arrangements would be made to settle Kansas from the North, the natural attractions of that territory began to exercise their influence, and the preponderance of emigration, through the summer of 1854, has been into its borders. The Indian treaties were ratified only at the close of the session of the Senate; some of them not till the begin-

ning of August. Settlement on the Indian lands was, therefore, until that time, strictly illegal. But persons intending to emigrate, in many instances, made arrangements with the Indians, or, at the least, staked off the land on which they wished to settle, and made registry of the priority of their claim on the books of some "Squatter's Association."

A large number of the residents of western Missouri have in this manner passed over the line, and made claim to such sections as pleased them, intending, at some subsequent period, to make such improvements as will give them a right of preëmption, when the lands are offered for sale, but for the present not residing on the new territory. The Indian reservations run westward not more than forty, sixty, or eighty miles. West of these the country has been open without restriction to settlers, many of whom have already begun their permanent improvements. Since the ratification of the treaties there is no obstacle to such a proceeding, except in the few small reservations, already described, left for the present by the terms of the treaties. It is, of course, impossible to estimate the number of scattered persons who have gone into Kansas already in this way; indeed, there is little use in an estimate of a number which is enlarging every day. Some newspaper statements have fixed the number of claims made before the first of August, 1854, at three or four thousand. This was, probably, at that time, an exaggeration, but our best information leads



us to suppose that that number of claims will have been made before these pages meet the reader's eye.

The law providing for the survey of Kansas and Nebraska passed Congress late in the session of 1854. Its title is, "An Act to establish the offices of surveyor-general of New Mexico, Kansas and Nebraska, to grant donations of land to actual settlers therein, and for other purposes." From this title the impression has gone abroad, very naturally, that actual settlers in Kansas and Nebraska will receive donations of land from the government; but it appears, from the act itself, that this is a mistake. The second section of the act grants a quarter-section of land to every white male person, above the age of twenty-one years, who shall live in the territory of *New Mexico* before the year 1858, with certain conditions. Subsequent sections provide for the land offices in Kansas and Nebraska, but make no provision for donations of land to settlers. The title of the bill is therefore false, and the position of a settler in Kansas is precisely what it is in any other of the western states or territories.

Whether the land has been surveyed or not, he may enter where he likes, and build his house, and cultivate his farm, unless he trespass upon some previous settler. It is the universal custom, at the West, for settlers in the same neighborhoods to enter into associations for mutual protection; and such associations give a guarantee, always binding, which secures to each settler the proprietorship of his

land. The "squatter right" thus becomes a title to the land occupied, which is distinctly recognized in mercantile transactions, and may be bought or sold. When the government has completed its surveys, and considers the land to be marketable, it advertises a public sale of the lands. The minimum price is one dollar and twenty-five cents; and the mutual support given by settlers is such, that no person bids over the claimant who has entered upon his land. Practically, therefore, the settler has the use of his land for nothing until the government sale is ordered, and then obtains his own quarter-section at one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre. A "section" of land is six hundred and forty acres. A quarter-section is the smallest section which the government officers sell at a time.

The surveys of Kansas or Nebraska will scarcely begin before late in the fall of 1854.

Such associations as these described have already been found among the settlers, in both Kansas and Nebraska. An effort has been made, particularly by one person, to induce such associations to refuse to admit "Abolitionists," under the pretext that they would wish to "run off" slaves from their neighbors' lands. Resolutions to this effect have been passed in one or two instances, but have been rejected or neglected more often. When passed they have been mildly stated, and have amounted only to a resolution to support slave-holders in their "legal rights," disavowing any intention to interfere with persons who do

not attempt to violate those rights, as the future laws shall state them.

The actual settler, then, has simply to go into Kansas or Nebraska, to select the best spot he can find unoccupied, and to put up his cabin or his house there, secure of purchasing the best land in the world at one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre, when the government, from whom he will hold it, is ready to sell.

The accounts already given of the two territories give some idea of the opportunities opened to settlers. The passage every year of large companies of emigrants to the Pacific over the plains, gives, for the present, a good market for provisions to those who are situated in positions to avail themselves of it. The supplies for the government posts in New Mexico have thus far been carried in through Kansas, and this course must, for the present, continue.

The crop of hemp is the most valuable crop in western Missouri, and will prove equally successful in the virgin lands of Kansas and Nebraska, opposite. At present the price of this staple is very high.

There is, of course, the same demand for mechanics as in every new territory. The mill powers, now necessary in almost every department of mechanical business, will be supplied by the water powers on the tributaries of Kansas river, and by steam engines, — the supply of coal being so large as to make steam power cheap in favorable localities. There is bark sufficient for tanning; but, thus far, there is

no large manufacture of shoes in the states adjacent to Kansas and Nebraska. The iron ore of Missouri has been called the best in the world. Iron ore has been found between the Kansas and Nebraska rivers, but has not been collected in any considerable quantity.

Such natural resources as these, on a soil which yields its treasures almost spontaneously, may well tempt industrious men to seek fortune in the new territories. For men who will not work, they have no more prizes than the rest of the world. The population will grow very rapidly. The land, almost given away to-day, will command the prices of the finest farming land when this region shall be peopled, and the first comers, who know how to bear the hardships of a frontier life, are those who will bear away the prizes. It is impossible to point out to settlers favorable regions in which to locate, nearly so acceptable to them as they will themselves select after a few days' examination. The valley of the Kansas and the valley of the Missouri have thus far been the most popular districts. The lines of the great routes to Santa Fe and to Fort Kearney will have the inducements given by the constant passage of merchants and emigrants. These roads pass through some fine regions of country also. The government is opening a military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley, which will open a district of country north of the Kansas to easy settlement.

The pioneer body of the Emigrant Aid Company have

made their claims on a beautiful spot bordering on the Kansas river, about seven miles west of the mouth of Wah-karusi Creek. They have here a good landing, wood and stone in abundance for building, the neighborhood of coal, and a good commercial position.

The easiest route for emigrants from the east is through the city of Alton in Illinois, whither the steamboats on the Mississippi or the railroads from the eastward will carry passengers. This city is nearly opposite the mouth of the river Missouri. Here, or at St. Louis, passage may be taken in a steamboat almost daily to any of the landings on the Upper Missouri. At either of these cities, or at the landings above, may settlers make their outfits. The voyage up the river takes three days or more, according to the speed of the boat or the state of the water.

The climate of Kansas and southern Nebraska has always been singularly healthy. In 1849, when the cholera was very fatal in the adjoining towns of Missouri, companies of emigrants, in some instances, escaped from it, by going into the prairie and encamping there. The cholera, however, has not wholly spared these regions. The Indians and emigrants exposed to the fatigues of travelling, and exposed to variable weather, have suffered from it there as elsewhere. There is in these territories comparatively little of that bottom-land which is the favorite seat of western diseases. It may be hoped that as the forests are not so dense as those of some regions, the clearing away of the woods may not be

followed by those forms of disease which sometimes accompanies the decay of great masses of vegetable matter. It is understood that these regions have, thus far, been in a great measure exempt from fever and ague, and bilious fever. They are thoroughly drained; they have little or no standing water; they are high above the level of the ocean, and are swept by winds from the not distant mountains. All these are reasons for hoping that this partial exemption from the diseases of a new settled country may be lasting. Emigrants need to be cautioned not to commit themselves to the cheapest lines of travel, unless some responsible emigrant company assures them that cars and boats shall be properly arranged for their accommodation. A great deal of sickness has been caused by the unrighteous crowding together of foreign emigrants in the worst class cars. Emigrants, again, ought not to be in a hurry. Their arrival a day or two sooner or later is of little consequence, if a day or two's delay will check an attack of illness in its infancy. Again, they ought, if possible, to go in considerable companies. The presence of neighbors alone spares them many of the hardships of pioneer life. This advantage is secured to them, together with the greatest possible economy in travel, by the arrangements of the Emigrant Aid Companies.

Any class of men or of women who are of use anywhere, will be of use in the new territories. Their population increases rapidly every day, and the useful arts and sciences of civilized life will be needed at once within their borders.

As has been already said, the civil institutions of the territories will be in the hands of those who inhabit them. It is only a temporary arrangement by which the United States government now appoints their officers. The territorial legislatures will be filled by the vote of the people, and in their hands will be the establishment of the first laws of the new-born settlements.

FRANCIS BURT, of South Carolina, has been appointed the first governor of Nebraska.

ALMON H. REEDER, of Pennsylvania, has been appointed the first governor of Kansas.

The religious institutions of the territories will also be in the hands of the settlers. It is to be hoped that they will not be afraid to let the principles of religion regulate the system of law. The missionary boards of the Eastern States have thus far sent ministers to these regions to care for the Indians. The settlers now must carry the gospel with them, and the teachers of the gospel must go too. The settlers must remember that no state can stand firm whose foundations are not on the Rock of Ages. To preserve that prosperity for which they wish, they must see to it that the active efforts of active religion shall preserve the morals of their men, and train the lives of their children.

Ministers of every religious body already offer themselves as the pioneer apostles of the gospel in this new land. Some have already gone, others will soon follow. They have a noble field for their labors, and a chance, if there is one

anywhere, to see, in time, the fruits from their planting.

Missionary bodies will feel the importance of assisting in this work. A single church in Worcester, Mass., the Old South Church, has raised among its members the sum requisite to support its own missionary in Kansas for a year.

Arrangements have already been suggested for a High School in Kansas. The government gift of public land for education will provide eventually a large common school fund.

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IT MUST BE that the settlement of the new territories by the best population which can be given them shall command the active effort of all true lovers of their country. This effort ought not to be spoken of as a little affair, or as incidental or subsidiary to other enterprises, but as the greatest duty now before American patriots and Christians. It is a way of work more hopeful than any which has been opened for years. It gives room for the exertion of every one, in whatever position, and holds out rewards such as satisfy the most eager. In the long, painful, irritating, and perplexing discussion which has sought to check and hem in the institution of slavery, the great difficulty has been the want of a field of action, where working men should not feel that they were wasting life in mere talk or wordy protest or prophecy. That field is found in Kansas. To send men to Kansas, or to go to Kansas, resolved that free labor shall be



honored in Kansas, and shall make itself honorable, is an effort which can enlist the energies of every man. It is an effort which the whole providence of God demands, and which is made easy by the wonderful arrangements of his wisdom. From the time of Moses to this time there has never been seen so gigantic an emigration as HE has been pleased, in less than forty years, to lead from Europe into America. As part of this, and as consequence of this, every year has seen the wave of emigration passing westward from the Northern States into the north-western deserts. That wave is moving now, larger than it ever was. There needs no Peter the Hermit to enlist crusaders. The crusaders are already on their way. There need only the guides who shall show them the fairest lands in the world; the counsel and assistance which shall organize them, that they may encourage and support each other, and they will pass into the valleys of the Nebraska and the Kansas, as the waters of a mountain stream pass into the lake in the valley. Passing thither, they carry with them the principles which sent them forth. No propagandism is needed to instil them. These emigrants would not have left their old homes had they not wanted to work somewhere, and had they not meant to find a home where they could work with ~~fit~~ prospect of reward. That reward they can only gain in a state which shall be free. The dignity of working men will only be preserved by the institutions which give all men equal chance before the law. And without special instruction, without

pledge to any political or social party, the great pilgrimage of free emigrants from Germany, from New England, from the Middle States, or from the states of the God-protected old "North-western Territory," know that this is so. The Emigrant Aid Companies ask no questions of their emigrants. They sell their tickets at the cheapest rates to all who come for them. They take no political position. They make no political pledges or promises. But none the less is it sure that when twenty thousand men have gone into the new territories from the seaboard and the North, they will be men who will know that, to preserve the value of their virgin farms, to maintain the dignity of their own lives, to sustain the honor of their new-born states, those states must be forever free.

Thus will this emigration, with the rapidity with which it now proceeds, add almost at once two new free states to the American Union. It is not within the province of this book to look farther. It is enough to foresee so great a victory of the right as is this. Two free states planted west of the Missouri are two new securities for American freedom. By so much the more is the perpetuity of the American Union possible. By so much the more is the principle of republican government redeemed and made consistent. And so far does the American church show its power in checking the advance of one of the best organized of its enemies. They are two free states which command the gates to the Pacific, and to the colonies on the way

there. They are the lines of approach to New Mexico and Utah. They will long command the only highways of travel to California, to Oregon, and to the territory of Washington. In the centre of the United States, in what may yet be the heart of its empire, they will maintain in its purity the principle on which that empire is founded. So far as their long frontier stretches, the wave of southern slavery will break on a rock which will not let it pass. No caravans of unwilling servants shall be led over their deserts or through their valleys. And if any one of the western regions should ever seek to introduce slave labor, it must not look to the mountain passes for its supply.

Indeed, it is not too much to hope, that, as the passage of the desert becomes shorter, in the western growth of the civilization of these valleys and the eastward progress of California and of Oregon, a tide of emigration may set eastward into these regions from the Pacific. The destiny of America is to call all races of men into a freer life within her borders than they have ever enjoyed at home. In her government is the secret which gives to each religion its exercise, to each oppressed nation its refuge, to each race of man its development. She makes "one out of many." There are reasons for supposing that this comprehensiveness of welcome will still draw in increasing companies of recruits from the crowded millions of China. They have their foothold already upon California. It may be that they shall pass eastward from the Pacific, by the same law which

draws the exiles of Germany westward from the Atlantic And Asiatic labor, careful, simple, and skilful, may come in as an element, assisting in the reconciliation of the difficulties not incurable which accompany the meeting of African labor and of European labor upon the American soil.

This is only one glimpse into that immense future which opens in the prospect, if these two territories be kept free by the immediate emigration of freemen. It is no question of the politicians. It is not a temporary piece of the balance of parties. It is one of the critical questions where we can see that the nation's prosperity is in question, and that the dignity and real victory of the nation are to be lost or won.

Every indication now points to victory. The movement of freemen is ten times as fast as is possible to men who must sell plantations before they can move, and carry field hands before they can labor. The whole foreign emigration comes principled or prejudiced against slave institutions. And the whole feeling of the North, whatever its politics or its religion, turns eagerly to seek a field of action for freedom. That field is open now, inviting effort, fair, loyal, constitutional, and manly. In that effort the whole energy of the North may be enlisted, without one word of anger, without one partisan appeal,—with a simple reliance on the principle which is diffused through the whole system of northern life, thought, and industry.

It will only be by a miracle of indolence, by blindness

utterly incurable, that the men of the free states can forfeit such a prize.

Unless freedom refuse the strength she always has given to freemen, that victory is gained. It is gained unless the intelligent, high-trained industry of the North, which has surrounded the world with its commerce, and made all nature tributary to its arts, meets now its first defeat. It is gained unless the great principle of association in a great cause fails as it never failed before. It is gained unless the church of Christ, which has thrown over the world a net-work, along the cords of which run the electrical words of good tidings, is false at home to a golden opportunity of advancing His kingdom.

Unless, in one word, the providence of God be wholly neglected, and the immense power for freedom flung away which God gives when he sends an army of his children westward over sea and land, the freedom of Kansas and Nebraska is secured, and the firmest step for the future prosperity of America made sure.

That victory will be won ! God gives it to the energy and wisdom of those who go, to the sympathy and prayers of those who stay.



## APPENDIX A.

### THE WORCESTER CO. KANZAS LEAGUE.

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It has been thought that the following constitution and plan of organization may be useful as a guide in forming other societies with the same object.

#### CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. Any person may become a member of this Society, by signing his name to this Constitution, and paying to the use of the Society the sum of one dollar, and shall continue to be a member so long as he shall pay such sum annually.

ARTICLE 2. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice President, seven Directors, Treasurer, and Secretary, who shall be Master of Emigration,—to be elected, in the first instance, immediately, and thereafter, on the second Monday in March, annually, at a meeting held in Worcester. The President, Vice President, and Treasurer shall be, *ex officio*, members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE 3. The officers shall perform such duties as shall appertain to their respective situations, and such, also, as shall devolve upon them under the By-Laws of the Society.

ARTICLE 4. It shall be the duty of the Master of Emigration to receive and keep the names of all persons desiring to emigrate to Kansas from Worcester county; to agree upon the time and conveniences for their departure, and to confer with the Emigrant Aid Company, so as to make the best arrangements for their conveyance to Kansas, and their location there.

ARTICLE 5. The moneys of the Society shall be appropriated to promote such emigration into the above-named territory as shall be opposed to the introduction of slavery into the same; or, if slavery shall be introduced, as shall be in favor of repealing all laws tolerating the same; and also for such means of promoting free emigration as the Directors may select. Provided that nothing shall be done, in

virtue hereof, in contravention of the Constitution, nor in conflict with the existing laws of the land.

ARTICLE 6. Suitable By-Laws shall be adopted, at the first meeting of the Society, and the same may be altered or amended at any annual meeting.

ARTICLE 7. It is the design of this Society to coöperate with the Emigrant Aid Company in the colonization of Kansas with freemen.

ARTICLE 8. The Directors shall have power to fill any vacancies in their Board, or in the list of officers, antecedent to the annual meeting of the Society.

#### BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE 1. A majority of the Board of Directors shall be a quorum for the transaction of business, and a majority shall reside in the city of Worcester.

ARTICLE 2. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to keep safely all moneys of the Society, and to pay the same over, from time to time, on the order of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice President.

ARTICLE 3. Neither President nor Vice President shall give such an order except in pursuance of an appropriation by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE 4. The Secretary of the Society shall also be Secretary of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE 5. The compensation of the Master of Emigration shall be determined by the Board of Directors.

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We, the undersigned, citizens of —————, pledge ourselves to pay the sums affixed to our names, to constitute ourselves members of the *Worcester County Kansas League*, and to promote the objects set forth in its Constitution :

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SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.

| \$ | c. |



## APPENDIX B.

THE following extract from a letter by George S. Park, published by the Emigrant Aid Company too late to take its place in the text, describes the most interesting parts of the valley of the Kansas and Smokyhill rivers :

“ From the Pottawatomie line to its mouth, the Kansas river presses on the southern bank, touching the uplands every four or five miles ; while on the north side, from a point just below the mouth of the Blue, down some fifty miles, there is a continuous bottom, four or five miles wide, larger and more magnificent than the far-famed American Bottoms, below St. Louis. Here excellent corn has been raised, by the Half-breeds, for many years. The soil is a black, sandy loam — kind, warm, and quick ; and produces much earlier in the season than farms in the same latitude east. Emigrants to California and Oregon, who are aware of this fact, prefer to cross the Missouri river, at Parkville, and take the great road up the Kansas valley, on the north side, on this account. They find most excellent grazing for their stock by the 1st of April, often earlier. We have not seen a swamp or wet slough, nor any stagnant water, in the valley drained by the Kansas river. The streams generally speaking flow over gravelly beds ; most of the bottoms are high ; the few that are low are of a dry, sandy character, and the prairies are rolling enough to drain off the water freely.

“ Passing the west line of the Pottawatomie nation, we entered upon open prairie, often reaching the river on both sides ; now and then a small grove and a light fringe of timber on the banks. On the right, in a great prairie bottom, in a bend of the river extending back to Rock Creek, Mr. Perry has made a selection for a stock farm ; and a little way above his claim there is another great bend, offering a tempting inducement to some other enterprising farmer who has a taste for stock-raising. Beyond this we passed a large grove of timber on the right, and then passed a most appropriate bluff for a town site — the first we saw for several miles. Here we saw Blue Hill,

which is a prominent landmark overlooking the mouth of Blue river. From this point upward the bluffs are higher and more abrupt, and the country back more elevated and broken. Here we saw a large eagle nest, out of which the old bird looked angrily at us, for intruding on its preëmption; but she, too, must give way, with the red skins, to manifest destiny. A little way above another huge buffalo floated past; he may have been anxious to slake his thirst in the Republican or Smokyhill, lost foothold, and got carried away by the rolling flood.

“Passing the mouth of the Blue, which comes in from the north (as nearly all the tributaries of Kansas do), and appears to be navigable for some distance, we were pleased with its fine bottoms and long streak of timber; while, on the left, were conical bluffs and high prairie mounds, with figured lines and steps rising one above another in the distance, contributing to the scenery a very romantic appearance. Immediately above this important tributary, there is another beautiful prairie bottom, sloping back northward farther than we could see; and, on the left, still another, containing more than two thousand acres, in a bend not more than three-fourths of a mile across the neck. The enticing features of the latter are—a little grove of timber on the height, a cool gushing spring, and plenty of rock at hand in the bluff, with which to raise an enduring fence over the narrow isthmus. The world does not present a more excellent situation for a stock farm; indeed, the whole line of the main river and branches, from here upward, may be said to be adapted for a continuous series of such farms. On the right a bluff comes into the river, the first above the mouth of the Blue, offering an appropriate town site; and we saw stakes set on the slope, as well as a tent or cabin back on the high prairie, indicating that our countrymen were there. Just above, there is a clear, running stream, and a line of timber reaching far back. From this to the fort, the river winds like a natural canal through green, flowery meadows, with similar scenery in the distance. On the left we saw some splendid country for farms, up the valley of a stream, the name of which we do not recollect; there were fine groves of timber and rich valley land. We understand that several claims have been made there.

“On Monday night, just before reaching Fort Riley, we were over-

taken by a tremendous thunder-storm. We were surrounded by prairie ; and the captain had to lay his craft close to the shore, and cast anchor, there being no stump or tree to hitch to. He is of opinion, that there should not be a cabin on steamers navigating these prairie rivers, where the winds sometimes sweep along with unbroken violence. We saw the Pilot Mounds in the distance, where the military road leaves the Kansas bottoms and passes through a depression in the bluff to the crossing of the Blue. We passed some small creeks on the right, with settlements on them ; and Clark's Creek on the left, affording some fine timbered lands and good springs.

“A little after sunrise on Tuesday morning, we neared Fort Riley, its fine stone buildings looming up grandly in the sunbeams. It is located at the junction of the Republican and Smokyhill forks of the Kansas, on the second bench or roll of the prairie, having higher bluffs immediately behind, from which the building rock is quarried. It is soft limestone, easily cut into with a pick, and can be split into any shape ; we noticed the same horizontal strata cropping out at all elevated points in the prairie. Crossing the Pawnee or Republican fork by the government bridge, we had a good view of the fine country between the two rivers, which rises gracefully backward in high, swelling prairies. Here there is a saw-mill just started. We strolled up the Republican, gathered some black raspberries, and crossed a spring branch, then mounted a high bluff, whence we could see the beautiful Republican valley a long way up. It is nearly three miles wide, high, dry, and level, with a loose, black, rich soil. The river flows in a serpentine course through the prairie bottoms, at some bends making nearly a circuit of six or eight miles, and coming back to within a mile of itself again — the banks generally having a light fringe of timber, with occasional groves near the water's edge, in the ravines, and on the bluffs. This is truly a delightful valley — the most inviting for settlement we ever saw.

“The ‘Excel’ made a short trip up Smokyhill. Lieut. Sargent, from the fort, accompanied us. We had an exciting time. The constant announcement from the man who heaved the lead was, ‘No bottom.’ The river was full and the current strong, but we had great difficulty in getting round the short bends. It keeps on

the course of the main Kansas, coming a little more from the southwest. There is more timber on this river than on the Kansas, above Pottawatomie, and the soil is better. We observed a deep marl deposit on the bluffs, beneath black soil, and the bottoms inclined up prettily from the river. A little way up we saw a band of Fox Indians crossing over, going north on a buffalo-hunt; and their motley procession stretched along over the prairies for miles. Here and there in the party was carried a pole, with a swan's neck or eagle's head and tail, &c., stuck upon it for a flag. They had with them about five hundred horses, all of which looked well. Great was the surprise manifested on seeing the 'Excel' puffing along up these unknown waters; but, poor fellows! the startling scream of the shrill steam-whistle, and the impetuous snorting of the iron-horse, will soon scare off the buffalo and other game from your hunting-grounds, to return no more — you, too, must follow in their trail, or succumb to the irresistible influence of civilization.

“ Some forty miles up Smokyhill, an extensive bed of gypsum has been found, specimens of which have been tested and proved to be of superior quality; we brought a small specimen home with us. Salt is also alleged to be very abundant on the Saline fork; the waters of the Smokyhill are often quite brackish, and when the boilers of the 'Excel' are filled from that river, there is a slight incrustation of salt deposited. Specimens of coal, both bituminous and anthracite, and of tin, lead, and iron ore, have been brought in. Hints have been given that gold abounds, but in parts — *unknown!* There cannot be a doubt, however, that valuable minerals will be found cropping out beneath or interspersed in the primitive formation, as we ascend toward the Rocky Mountains. The country rises very rapidly in that direction from Fort Riley; up the Republican, for instance, the ascent, in the first three hundred miles, is said to be two thousand feet. The rock in the vicinity of Smokyhill is principally limestone, and the river bottoms are a sandy loam. The upland prairies are broken, but of black, rich soil, particularly where limestone predominates; the valleys are also very rich, and the soil mellow. Passing over the high uplands, often there is nothing to be seen but prairie spreading out beyond, till it is lost in dim distance; when all at once, as if by magic, you come upon a

‘Woody valley, warm and low,’ —

with fine springs and clear running water. This is, indeed, a well-watered region, and must be salubrious and healthy. We previously mentioned the scarcity of timber above Pottawatomie; it may here be added, that it is inadequate to supply what would be needed for agricultural purposes, and hardly sufficient for firewood. Here and to the westward, a new era in agriculture must be inaugurated—a new system must be practised. Nature demands that it should be so. Instead of clearing timber lands, as in eastern states, the citizen-farmers of Kansas must grow their timber. There is fuel wanted, but coal in many places can be got with little labor; houses must be built, and fences made, but, in the absence of sufficient timber, excellent rock for all purposes can be procured in abundance; or, for fencing, the farmer can hedge himself in most completely with Osage orange. The country abounds with the most luscious grapes. Stock of all kinds are remarkably healthy; and these rolling prairies will make the finest sheep-walks in the world. In fact, this may be designated the PASTORAL REGION OF AMERICA. The gardens at Fort Riley look well; and we procured some beautiful wild prairie flowers.

“The difficulty of navigating the Smokyhill with a stern-wheel steamer of such length as the ‘Excel’ prevented Capt. Baker from venturing so far up as he otherwise would. A shorter side-wheel steamer, of very light draught, adapted to the navigation of these interior rivers, will soon be put on the trade. We left Fort Riley, on the return trip, on Wednesday morning, and came down ‘kiting.’ Passing rapidly in review the splendid scenery of which we have attempted to make hasty memoranda, we entered the Missouri about daylight next morning.

“Before concluding these brief notes, it must be remarked, in reference to the productions and climate of Kansas Territory, that there are, no doubt, superior hemp lands in its central and western portions; but Nature unmistakably indicates stock-raising as the proper and most profitable occupation for the farmers who shall settle there. In the great Kansas valley below Pottawatomie, and in the eastern region along the Missouri, there are some of the finest hemp lands in the world. Wheat, corn, oats and vegetables, grow as well there as in any of the western states. Those in the Platte

Purchase, immediately east of the Missouri river, who attend to fruit-growing, say that their apples, peaches, plums, &c., cannot be surpassed anywhere ; we can see no reason why as much may not be said of the same crops in the region across the river.

“The winters are generally dry and pleasant, and the roads fine ; but little snow falls, and this lies on the ground only for a short time. Sometimes, however, there are very ‘ cold spells ’ of weather, but they are not of long duration. For instance, the masons in Parkville, Platte Co., Mo., quarried and laid stone last winter with but little interruption on account of the weather. Common cattle, colts, mules and sheep, can be wintered on blue-grass, provided the pastures are allowed to grow up in the fall, and the stock have a little corn or hay occasionally. February and March are frequently quite pleasant, and much ploughing can be done in the mellow dry loam of the Kansas valley. The summers are quite warm and long, the thermometer (Fahr.) not unfrequently marking up to near one hundred degrees in the shade. The high prairies, however, are generally fanned by cool, refreshing breezes ; and as we ascend the branches of the Kansas from Fort Riley, there is a rapid rise to a cooler region. In May and June there is a superabundance of rain ; but the latter end of summer and fall is generally dry.”

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